NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
5 cents
Vol. 2, No. 10
NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 19, 1949

PEACE AND PROFITS

Was the atom split for J.P. Morgan?

By Tabitha Petran

AN atom-smashing cyclotron costs you anywhere from $700,000 to $900,000, depending on size. For a reactor to produce atomic power you pay about $50,000,000; for a complete atomic energy plant, around $500,000,000.

You pay the bills out of taxes because you have been led to believe that "atomic energy is publicly controlled." Actually it is controlled by big business.

This is the story of how J. P. Morgan & Co. and other financial combines control our split atom from ore mines through processing, production, research and development to policy-making at the national and international levels.

National policy

On Aug. 7, 1945, when headlines heralded the dawn of the atomic age, Henry Stimson (then Secretary of War) named eight Americans to chart peaceful and military development and control of atomic energy.

MORGANS HERE . . . : Of the eight members of the committee charged with this task, three were, and two later became, connected with the house of Morgan. They were:

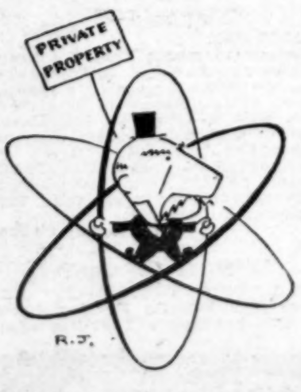
1. Stimson himself: his law firm is attorney for Morgan's big utility outfit, Commonwealth & Southern.
2. Alternate chairman George Harrison: then president, later board chairman, of Morgan's New York Life Insurance Co.; director of Morgan's First National Bank.
3. James F. Byrnes, then Secretary of State: he left the government in 1947 to become a director of the Newmont Mining Co., big Morgan holding and exploration company in non-ferrous metals mining.
4. Ralph Bard, then Under Secretary of the Navy: he later became a director of the Chicago Corp., linked to the Morgan financial group and with interests in Middle State Utilities.
5. Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, whose Board of Trustees is dominated by Morgan.

The other members were Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose board is dominated by the DuPonts; then Assistant Secretary of State William Clayton; and Dr. Vannevar Bush, past president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Out of this committee, and others, came the general lines of the U.S. atomic energy program. The huge investments required for atomic installations, initial experiment and development were temporarily unprofitable. Wanting no part of them, big business accepted government ownership for which there was then great popular demand: the public thus footed the bill, while operation and management was delegated to private industry.

International policy

The U.S. "public ownership" program at home was parallelled in the international field by the Baruch Plan. Propagandized as "the most generous gesture ever made by any nation," it was in fact—as is now widely recognized—a plan not to regulate military uses of atomic energy but to suppress its international development for social use.



MORGANS THERE . . . : The plan was based on the Lilienthal Report, written by David Lilienthal, two top officials of Morgan companies, the president of a Morgan-Rockefeller firm, and a physicist.

Bernard Baruch, head of the U.S.' UN Commission on Atomic Energy which put his plan in final shape, is a longtime associate of Secretary Byrnes and began his career as a stock market operator for Morgan-Guggenheim copper deals. His brother, Herman, was long a director of the Morgan-dominated Texas Gulf Sulphur Co. Baruch chose as his co-workers:

1. Fred Searls Jr., president of Morgan's Newmont Mining Co.
2. Herbert Bayard Swope, newspaper and public relations man. Swope's brother, Gerard, has been associated with Morgan since 1895, was president from 1922 to 1939 of Morgan's General Electric Co.
3. John Milton Hancock, partner in Lehman Bros. investment banking firm.
4. Ferdinand Eberstadt, one-time Dillon Read partner, now operating the only investment trust which specializes in chemicals.

Baruch was succeeded as U.S. representative at the UN by Frederick Osborn, a member of the Dodge copper family, whose firm, Phelps Dodge, is controlled by Morgan.

Atomic Energy Commission

In October, 1946, the President named the five-man AEC to administer atomic energy for the government. In addition to Lilienthal, members were a scientist, a broker, a former partner of Kuhn Loeb (which with the Rockefellers and Mellons controls

(Continued on Page 3)

Chief Justice Vinson

Freedom or property — the Court must decide

(SEE PAGE 3)

The Farm Bureau—an immoral story

PAGE 5

UN and Jerusalem—who wants what

PAGE 9

JERSEY JUSTICE

Trenton 6 judge bars Rogge, bans evidence

PAGE 4

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

Page
Books: J. T. McManus ...11
Underfed America 8
Coeur d'Alene story 6
Dollar stretcher 11
Page
Letters to the editor 2
Jennings Perry 4
Philippines: K. Goshal ...10
Chinatown and China ...12
Page
Progressive on march 7
Report to readers 2
Roundup of week's news 4-10
Washington: J. B. Stone.. 3

THE MAILBAG

Liberties in India

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

Recently a girl showed me some criticisms of Nehru and his government published in the GUARDIAN. The restrictions on personal freedoms in India were much more than than the necessary minimum. This excess deserves to be condemned, but no government worth the name would have tolerated fascists, communists and gangsters using guns, acid bulbs, and Molotov cocktails to achieve their ends.

It will restore some perspective to note that the Communist Party of India, in spite of all its violent activities, is illegal only in West Bengal and Madras, where communist violence had assumed considerable proportions, and the actions in this direction were taken by local governments.

I do not know how many Indians besides Mr. Goshal, your contributor, would like to seek publicity and guidance for their efforts at establishing a classless democratic society in India from the politically illiterate "progressive" capitalists of America, who are led by a rank opportunist millionaire, a palace intriguer, and a former associate and accomplice of what is popularly known as the Anglo-American fascism, all rolled into one. Their number must be very insignificant.

Guptesvara Sinha

Kumar Goshal writes: Violation of civil liberties in India today is not merely a passing phase but has been incorporated into India's new constitution as the permanent law of the land. I refer Mr. Sinha to Article 13, clauses 2, 3, 4 and 5; Article 15; Article 61, clause 1; Article 144, clause 4; Article 277; and others too numerous to mention. The undemocratic character of the new constitution was exposed by former Justice P. R. Das in his presidential address at the Civil Liberties Conference in July, 1949. Mr. Sinha's accusations against the Indian Communist Party are undocumented; and his gratuitous, unsubstantiated and abusive description of an unnamed American progressive leader is hardly a demonstration of democratic behavior.

•

Preaching's not enough

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

If Congress would stop sending billions to Europe for another blood bath and to put the German Nazis back in power, and would work for prosperity and peace at home, we wouldn't have any unemployed or anyone starving in America. We have plenty of churches in Knoxville and they are preaching all the time, but the crimes are growing by leaps and bounds. I say when there are no unemployed and no hungry the crimes will stop.

Mrs. Samuel Reece

•

Feinberg fight goes on

REGO PARK, N. Y.

Supreme Court Justice Shirick's resounding decision on the unconstitutionality of the Feinberg law confirms our faith in our courts and our Constitution, as shown by the many individuals and organizations which have been untiringly fighting against this law. But until the decision is upheld in the higher courts, the end of the Feinberg law is not yet here, although it has been brought closer. It is still necessary for us to write and visit our state senators and assemblymen asking them to vote for the law's repeal.

A second equally important job remains. That is to see that the decision is not circumvented by more carefully worded regulations achieving the same end as the Feinberg law.

Leah Harris

•

Don't get squeezed

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

Readers of the Dollar Stretcher may be interested to hear the low-down on orange juice from headquarters.

The Mutual Citrus Assn., which now controls the bulk of the product in Florida, has set a price on orange juice at the cannery of $2.25 for twelve tall cans. This should make the price to the consumer, allowing for freight and the usual mark-up, about 28c per can. Grapefruit is priced at $2.60, but since the product could not be moved at a higher price than orange juice (even if it costs more — curious system, isn't it?), expect a price of 29c with the four cents differential added to the orange juice, or 32.5c.

Readers of the GUARDIAN will render a real public service by refusing to pay more than the prices indicated for their citrus juices. Remember these are top retail prices.

Bernard Raymond

•

Live it down yet?

GARRETT PARK, MD.

Please stop sending the GUARDIAN to me and please remove my name from your mailing list. I read Westbrook Pegler and listen to Fulton Lewis every day to try to live down the fact that I once (was it three times?) voted for F. D. R.

Alfred K. Mitchell

•

Watch your pants!

CHICAGO, ILL.

People accepted double-breasted suits without vest with such good grace during the war that dealers are now attempting to sell single-breasted suits without vests. Well, we were dumb enough to let them get away with only one-pant suits—and now no vests. Maybe the next time they will start making pants without seats—what a convenience that will be for the exploiters.

K. M. Sens

•

Minnesota indicator

MADISON, MINN.

The fact that eight out of nine Minnesota congressmen voted against the arms program under the Atlantic Pact should be a pretty clear indication that the people are getting fed up with spending billions upon billions of dollars in support of the tottering reactionary regimes of Europe and that the congressmen know it.

Apparently only Judd in the House along with Humphreys and Thye in the Senate are supporting the stupendous arms program through which big business and the militarists milk the public and which makes Fair Deal promises impossible of fulfillment.

It seems to me that we should have learned our lesson in China. It won't work to try to force corruption and reaction down the throats of poverty-stricken people abroad. Think what the $5,000,000,000 we wasted on Chiang Kai-shek could have done here in this country in terms of Missouri Valley development, aids to education, community recreation centers, a good farm program and similar things.

Ed Smogard Jr.

•

Canadian observer

ELGIN, MANITOBA

A copy of your paper has fallen into my hands much to my delight. The old American Guardian was a favorite.

Judging from appearance, both America and Canada have gone looney. The Atlantic Pact is a fool's pact born of greed, ignorance, envy. No man with a normal knowledge of history could honestly put his name to such a gangster agreement. Authority intoxicates, and Truman is laboring under a serious jag.

G. B. Robinson

•

Plateau of logic

SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y.

I had a wonderful mother, a kind father and the usual Christian rural home background, typically American. But at 50 years of age, I am rejecting Christianity and all its organized manifestations in favor of humanism. The times of course are hardly ripe for one to publicly announce such a stand, but in direct proportion to the unshackling of human minds, as more and more people achieve to such a plateau of logic, just so will universal peace on earth, good will to men be easier to have and to hold.

D. R.

•

Not so New Yorkish

SEATTLE, WASH.

The GUARDIAN is doing an excellent job. I feel that it has a lightness and a freshness in its treatment of serious problems that is all the more remarkable in that it is not attempted on the basis of semi-nude women, comics, sports, etc. This applies to its appearance as well as its writing.

All things considered, the GUARDIAN is reasonably successful in coping with the provincialism almost inherent in a New York-published progressive paper. It would be well for the editors to remember Leningrad and Shanghai. They are no longer the centers of their respective countries. With the exception of the military analogy, the maturing of the democratic process in America will very likely find New York in a similar position.

William J. Corr

•

Totalitarianism

CHICO, CALIF.

There was confusing reference to communism, absolutism, and totalitarianism in an article in the Oct. 31 GUARDIAN. Those who have read Lenin at all know how far socialism is from absolutism and why. If totalitarianism were proved against the socialist government of Russia, the question would have to be asked: Totalitarianism for whom? Totalitarianism for the parasites of Germany against the workers was very bad. But if the exploited of Germany had won the victory in 1933, the big parasites would have fled the country to enjoy their filthy lucre and maybe to plot counter-revolution. The parasites left in Germany would join the workers and become useful members of society, a classless society of equals. It would be silly to use the word totalitarianism to describe a society in which nobody is robbed and exploited and suppressed.

The political party that has led the workers of Russia and of China to victory knew where they were going and how to get there, and the leading party of the new democracies in eastern Europe has the same clear ideas. Contrast this with the confusion and unhappiness of Marshall Plan countries in western Europe.

Isabel Martin

The writer apparently refers to the Philadelphia speech of Henry A. Wallace, reprinted in the GUARDIAN of Oct. 31. What Mr. Wallace said was: "We of the Progressive Party fight against the domination of the world by . . . capitalism, colonialism, catholicism and communism. The only one which we are out to exterminate is colonialism. Of the other three we are tolerant as long as they are tolerent. . ." Ed.

•

On the record

DAVENPORT, IOWA

We are striving to win the Iowa first district next year. The present Congressman, Tom Martin, is very unpopular. He should be very easy to defeat if we have the latest ammunition, that is, whether this fellow opposed the Brannan farm plan in Congress. It seems to me your staff could give us this in your columns — the record of all congressmen on the Brannan plan.

Michael Kennedy

•

A reminder

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA

I should like to comment on people who use the term "We shall not be moved." I'd like to remind these people that they can be moved by God Almighty whether they think so or not.

Virginia Heeren

•

The whole wide world

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The pictures of Italian peasants seizing lands (GUARDIAN, Dec. 12) were among the most dramatic and newsworthy jobs done by any photographer in years, but no other paper seems to have used them. Were they taken by a GUARDIAN photographer? If so, congratulations.

Maria Rizzo

They were Wide World Agency pictures — available to the wide world. Ed.

•

You said it!

JOPLIN, MO.

This is to report that the town that produced one of the country's top sub-getters for the GUARDIAN, Ernest Sadler, has now blossomed forth with a GUARDIAN Readers' Club to get more readers and to support the Progressive Party.

We suggest that other GUARDIAN readers do the same. Organized effort can produce more than the single-handed type.

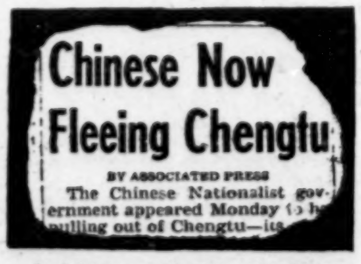
Mrs. Dorothy Cowen

•

WHICH Chinese?

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

The San Antonio Evening News ran this headline a few days ago:



Chinese Now Fleeing Chengtu

BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Chinese Nationalist government appeared Monday to be pulling out of Chengtu—its

And here we thought the Chinese were about to take Chengtu instead of fleeing it.

Harry Koger

•

Tyranny exposed

COLUMBUS, OHIO

About the present trend toward negation of our civil rights by the Foley Square affair, Ghandi once said:

"Time runs always in favor of the sufferer (oppressed) for the simple reason that tyranny becomes more and more exposed to it as it is continued."

Anna Botsford Hartman

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone WOrth 4-1750.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. and possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $2 a year. All other countries, $3 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 5c. Entered as second class matter Nov. 23, 1948, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Cedric Belfrage, *Editor* — John T. McManus, *General Manager* — James Aronson, *Executive Editor*

STAFF: Elmer Bendiner, Fritz Silber, Barney Conal (Associate Editors), Robert Joyce (Art Editor), Leon Summit, Regina S. Oshlag (business and circulation); Tabitha Petran, Lawrence Emery, Robert E. Light, Egon Pohoryles, Adele Kravitz, Dorothy R. Mishkind.

CORRESPONDENTS: John B. Stone (Washington), Rod Holmgren (Chicago), Gene Richards (Los Angeles), Gordon Schaffer, Konni Zilliacus (London), Stanley Karnow (Paris), Emil Carlebach (Frankfurt), George Wheeler (Prague), Ralph Parker (Moscow), Peter Townsend (Shanghai), Max Werner (military), Richard A. Yaffe (roving), Ralph Peterson (books).

Vol. 2—No. 10 178 DECEMBER 19, 1949

Report to readers

Want to be a year-round agent?

By James Aronson

CHRISTMAS is upon us and there's a lot of singing going on. Mind if we do a little caroling ourselves? About you?

A day doesn't go by but the mail brings in a couple of dozen fan letters from readers getting the paper for the first time; from old readers saying they just have to tell us again (who's blushing?) what a fine job we're doing. "Best gosh darn paper America ever had," says one. "Makes me feel clean after a week's diet of the home town paper," says another. If we printed them all it would be a masterpiece of immodesty. If we answered them all, it would take a good part of a busy day.

But we can say "Thanks" to all of you here and now. And tell you, without sentiment, that no paper ever had such a wonderful host of loyal friends; that the warmth of contact with our readers is in large measure responsible for our being able to do as good as a job as we have done. That goes for the whole staff.

LET'S go back one Christmas. Last year, when we were barely two months old, we sent out a holiday letter to our readers—all 7,500 of them!—asking them to help us boost the circulation of the GUARDIAN. We got a wonderful response, a response that has kept up all through 1949. Our new friends have been just as enthusiastic as the winter soldiers of the first frost-bitten months. (Last week our circulation man came in waving an envelope with 186 subscriptions from one reader.)

This year we're sending out another letter which most of you will find in your mailbox about the same time that this issue reaches you. Not to 7,500 readers, but to 75,000—all that the budget will bear right now. Those figures are their own testimonial.

The letter, signed by John T. McManus for the Editors and Staff, is putting a proposition up to you. It says that you must know dozens of people in your neighborhood (perhaps hundreds) who feel the same way as you do about peace and progress: who will want to get the GUARDIAN and find out how many people are standing with them.

WELL, we're asking you to go out and see these people and sign them up as GUARDIAN readers. Unlike some tough assignments we've given you in the past, this one is a lot easier—and will even be profitable to you.

With the letter you will find a few simple, postage-paid subscription cards which will make it unnecessary for you to collect any money. We will bill all new subscribers.

We have established a special discount subscription rate of $1 a year, less than 2 cents a copy for the 52 issues. On each subscription you send us we will give you a 25% commission. If you can't use the commission pass it on to some group that can.

A few phone calls, a little buttonholing on the job, a walk around to a friend's house after supper—and you'll be surprised at the results you'll get.

We'd like you thus to become a year-round agent for the GUARDIAN. Are you with us? A ten-fold response will put us pretty close to that goal of a million readers.

If we get that million it will be the surest indicator that the Century of Progress will have a lot easier sledding in the second half. What we always say is the first 50 years are the hardest.

Fundamental freedoms or property rights?

It is time for the Supreme Court to decide

The law is the last result of human wisdom acting upon human experience for the benefit of the public.

—Samuel Johnson

Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law.

—Oliver Goldsmith

By John B. Stone
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON

EVERY Monday at noon the justices of the U. S. Supreme Court hand down decisions interpreting the law of the land. How they decide sets the choice between liberalism and reaction. The court is now heading into a critical decision period which will severely test the strength of its devotion to human rights as against propertied interests.

Among those waiting for its rulings are the Hollywood Ten, pilloried for "contempt" in refusing to discuss their political beliefs before the House Un-American Activities Committee (see Civil Liberties); Communist Party Secretary Eugene Dennis, "contempt"; Dr. Edward Barsky and his co-defendants of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, "contempt"; Heman Marion Sweatt, a Texas Negro who seeks an education in his state's for-whites-only law school.

THE TRUMAN FOUR: The Supreme Court is men, and President Truman has appointed four of them. Harold H. Burton's conservative Republican record has been consistently maintained in his opinions. Sherman Minton has shown signs of liberalism in the past but appears to be trying to overcome the reputation. Tom C. Clark has only that respect for free speech, equality and labor rights which is forced upon him. Chief Justice Vinson has voted steadily on the right.

Thus, if Minton lives up to his mildly liberal record, Truman's contribution to this crucial court is three justices on the right and one on the moderate left. This may seem relatively unimportant, but a study of past decisions reveals several significant 5-4 splits. One liberal vote could have changed the pattern.

However, lest liberals lose heart, the record shows that the court does not function in a vacuum. Tom Clark's recent and sudden self-removal from the Dennis case, reversing his earlier indication that he would participate, was one evidence. The mid-New Deal reversal of the conservative trend after President Roosevelt's famous court fight was another. Justices do read the papers, do hear the people if the voices are loud enough.

LIBERTY VS. ORDER: Those who know Truman best say he would not make an appointment deliberately to kill the New Deal. He probably wouldn't, consciously. But if circumstances forced him to choose between "dangerous" liberty and orderly rule by big business, most observers think he would pick the latter. That seems the most likely effect of his Supreme Court appointments.

No fixed patterns can be extracted from a reading of court records. But there are definite visible trends and a clear indication that the court is closely involved with developing government policies—sometimes by curbing the intent of Congress, often by setting a line which Congress will later follow.

FATHER TERMINIELLO
Another Peekskill?

The unmet issues

Required study for all who are interested in civil rights should be this year's pamphlet by the American Civil Liberties Union, **The Supreme Court and Civil Liberties.** The report by Osmond K. Fraenkel shows the following:

- The court made a significant departure from precedent in its 1948 decision holding restrictive housing covenants unenforceable, having previously refused to face up to the issue.
- Recent decisions reversing convictions because of improper detainment of suspects set a new trend.
- The court ruled in a series of 1948 cases that convictions based on unreasonably long questioning could not stand.
- In the 1941 Bridges and Los Angeles Times cases, the court held that punishment for contempt may violate constitutional rights.

REAL TESTS WAIT: But the ACLU study emphasizes that important issues have not yet been faced by the Supreme Court. There is, for example, the fundamental constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley Act. There is also the matter of constitutional right of the Un-American Activities Committee to pry into personal beliefs.

The cautious and piecemeal probing of side issues, with consequent evasion of basic questions, was illustrated vividly in the Terminiello case, where the court reversed the conviction of a fascist-type orator in what many liberals considered a notable free-speech victory.

But the court failed to meet a vital test: can the law continue to hedge on fundamental rights of free speech as envisioned by Jefferson—the free market-place for the exchange of ideas—while permitting murderous libels to be uttered in deliberate efforts to incite violence against minorities such as Negroes and Jews?

IFS, ANDS, BUTS: Terminiello had advised his listeners to wipe out the Jews. Violence resulted. Yet Justice William O. Douglas' majority opinion eulogized free speech even while narrowing the scope in which it is permitted.

Progressive lawyers (one spokesman is Samuel Rosenwein in the National Lawyers Guild **Review**) hold that Jefferson believed, with popular backing, that freedom of speech was the freedom to exchange ideas, not including the freedom to libel minorities and incite violence against them. This concept was limited by Justice Holmes' "clear and present danger" doctrine, in which ideas could not be freely expressed if they constituted a real and imminent peril to the state.

That, say the progressive lawyers, was bad enough. But in the Terminiello decision Douglas stretched the ban against a real exchange of ideas still further. He added the words: ". . . Unless shown likely to produce a clear and present danger . . ." This means that Communists, Socialists and Progressives could not speak if their thoughts were "likely" to produce a danger.

A QUESTION DUCKED: The Douglas opinion, Jackson's dissent and other opinions in the Terminiello case make fascinating reading. Despite all the basic issues raised, the court acted on none. It reversed the conviction because the trial judge had given improper instructions to the jury. Said Justice Frankfurter: "For the first time in the course of 130 years . . . this court is today reversing a sentence . . . on the ground that was urged neither here nor below and that was explicitly disclaimed on behalf of the petitioner . . ."

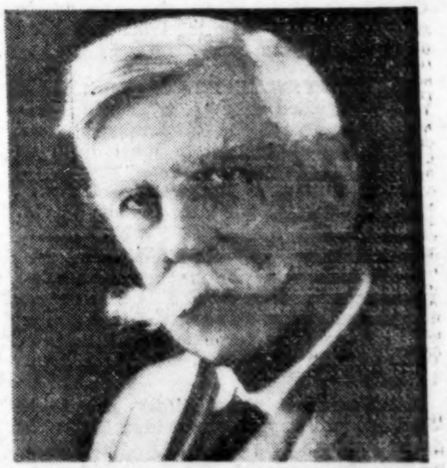
The nine men had been face to face with a mighty question; they had dodged it by breaking a legal precedent, thus freeing another racist to stir up another Peekskill.

LABOR: WHOSE RIGHTS? Nor has the court faced its bedrock responsibilities in labor cases. Richard F. Watt, an assistant law professor at the University of Chicago, made a study two years ago of the Taft-Hartley Act and its relation to Supreme Court decisions. His conclusions indicate that Truman's court may leave its imprint on labor legislation for years to come.

Watt's study, published by the National Lawyers Guild, found that the wartime spirit of cooperation between industry and labor had vanished. It found, too, that the courts had gained "an augmented power to review" which endangered all the labor decisions built up while the New Deal was alive.

On the basis of 13 key decisions, Watt concluded that Justices Black, Douglas, Reed and the late Frank Murphy were definitely pro-labor. The late Wiley Rutledge almost qualified. Frankfurter, Jackson, Burton and Vinson were definitely anti-labor.

CAPITAL ALWAYS WINS: "Finally," said Watt, "the court has yet to equate labor values with capital values. When the chips are down in a crucial contest where the rights of labor conflict with important business-property interests, the rights of labor are likely to give way."



OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES
The danger must be clear

Watt found that violence and lawbreaking had become especially reprehensible to the Supreme Court when committed by unions. He added: "The thought never seems to occur to the judicial mind that labor violence is a reaction to employer intransigence. And even if it should, such intransigence would never be viewed judicially as a justification . . ."

The big tests are coming for the Supreme Court. And the people of the U. S. have the right to ask: will the law be interpreted to safeguard fundamental freedoms or the propertied few? It is time for the Supreme Court to decide.

Was the atom split for J. P. Morgan & Co.?

(Continued from page 1)

Westinghouse Electric) and a newspaperman associated with the Cowles publishing firm which is a part of the Morgan group.

For the Industrial Advisory group—one of many committees named to work with AEC—Lilienthal picked three Rockefeller men, three men associated with Morgan, and one representative each of the Mellons, DuPonts, Shell Oil, and International Nickel (in which Morgan, Rockefeller and others have interests and one of whose directors is John Foster Dulles).

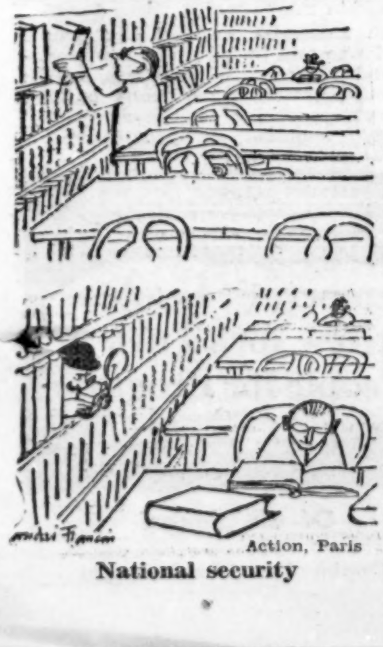
MORGANS EVERYWHERE: Of eight men named to AEC's Advisory Committee on Mining and Exploration six, including Fred Searls Jr., president of Newmont Mining, are associated with the Morgans. The other two are a director of International Nickel and an associate of Dillon Read in the petroleum business. As director of AEC's Raw Materials Divn. John K. Gustafson of Morgan's Newmont Mining Co. was selected.

Under its mandate providing for exclusive government ownership and management of atomic energy (Congress left only the mining of uranium ores and their initial preparation in private hands), the AEC could, as Lilienthal has pointed out, have built up an independent government industry, government-manned. Most Americans undoubtedly believed this was the intent of the bill passed by Congress.

LEAVE IT TO MORGAN: Instead, the AEC chose what Lilienthal called "a better course," delegating all but financing and security regulations to private industry. Government policy-making was a fiction since the AEC, and all policy committees dealing with atomic energy, were staffed by the same big business men who controlled development, operation and management.

Under this "better course," private corporations at no financial risk have become professional in atomic technology, built a reserve of atomic patents, learned atomic secrets, earned profits from sale of equipment to atomic plants, received management fees. Now they are ready to dispense with even the fiction of government ownership.

Lilienthal for the past year has spearheaded a drive whose aim in his own words is "to move away from the present government monopoly just as fast as it can be done with due regard for national security." Private industry, he has frequently said, can alone develop atomic industry and must be given "opportunities for profit."



Action, Paris

National security

Wondering about a Christmas gift? Give the GUARDIAN —$1 for 52 weeks. You couldn't find a better gift at any price. Fill out the subscription blank on p. 11 for five friends.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

Trenton Six judge bars Rogge, bans vital new defense evidence

FOR 22 months six Negroes have been in jail in Trenton, N. J., for a murder they could not have committed. For much of that time they sat in the death house, until the Civil Rights Congress, representing three of the six, entered the case. O. John Rogge, former Assistant U.S. Attorney General, and his associates, William L. Patterson of CRC and N. J. attorney Solomon Golat, fought for and won a reversal of the conviction.

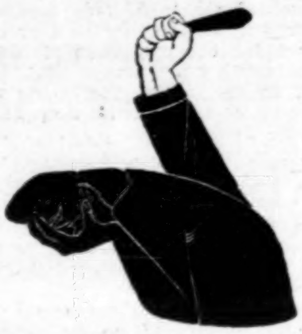
For a year these three have steadily punched holes in the State's case, showing it to be a shoddy fabric of forced "confessions," suppressed evidence, disappearing witnesses, false accusations—a prime example of a legal lynching.

Last Friday CRC defense attorneys, holding a trump card, went into Mercer County Court to confront again Judge Charles P. Hutchinson, the man whose conduct of the original trial had been found grossly in error.

YOU CAN'T TELL THAT: With them was a surprise witness, a Trenton private detective hired originally by one of the court-appointed local defense lawyers who somehow never saw fit to use his damaging story. His testimony, had he been allowed to give it, would be this: The State's sole witness lied when she "identified" the Six.

With this evidence, backed by a witness, on the record, the last prop of the state's flimsy case would have been gone. A demand for immediate release of the Six on bail would have been hard to deny.

The witness' story didn't get told. Judge Hutchinson on Friday listened impatiently to defense arguments and denied all motions but a minor one. Then he summarily removed CRC attorneys from any further participation in the case, set Monday, Jan. 9, for the start of a new trial, and reappointed as defense attorneys the same court-appointed lawyers who lost the case originally.



"YOU'RE UNETHICAL": The judge read a long prepared statement. It was a defense of his own overruled conduct, a venomous attack on the Civil Rights Congress. Attorney Golat was threatened with possible contempt proceedings later.

Judge Hutchinson told the attorneys their "conduct consistently violated the canon of ethics" because they denounced the original trial as "unfair, biased." He said: "You have deliberately distorted facts to stir up unfavorable comment."

To him it was obvious that since the Trenton Six had no funds, the CRC attorneys were "not employed by the defendants" but that "the real client is an organization." Funds raised for the defense, he charged, were "far in excess of the amount required," and were used for other purposes.

His final word: ". . . You must terminate the relationship."

FIGHTING ON: The Civil Rights Congress planned an immediate protest to New Jersey Governor Alfred E. Driscoll, mapped a legal fight to protect the interests of the innocent Trenton Six.

In a statement to the GUARDIAN William L. Patterson charged that "this attempt to throw us out of the case was made also because we have exposed a vicious frame-up, which is a sample of the state of New Jersey's policy of enforcing jimcrow and segregation by terror against the Negro people, even in the courts. We will not be intimidated."

John Rogge had this to say: "We were on the verge today of uncovering in open court so much of the crude frame-up that there would have been nothing left of the case. Is that why on this day Judge Hutchinson retaliates by throwing us out of the case, thus depriving the men of their chosen counsel and simultaneously setting a trial date for three weeks hence?"

In their jail cells the three Negroes represented by CRC said they wanted to retain the CRC lawyers. Collis English, as spokesman for the three, said: "I won't trust a state-appointed lawyer."

POLITICS

THE 1950 SCRAMBLE

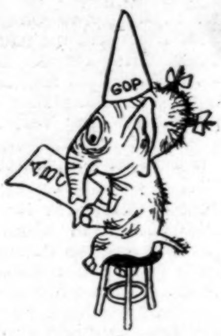
The Republicans look for an argument

"IF you have to have an argument to get people to the polls we are going to start an argument," vowed Guy Gabrielson, chairman of the Republican National Committee. Republican strategists, gathered in Chicago last week to plan their party's future, stubbornly insisted that it had one.

The recent defeats, some Republicans said, were due to their failure to learn their zoology lesson. It seemed impossible to go to the people with the claim that an elephant, however sprightly, could make a better donkey of itself than a donkey. Somehow the Republicans would have to find a disagreement with the Democrats and start an argument.

HOW TO DO IT? Where to start was a touchy problem. They had to be for economy, yet they dared not attack vote-getting social security measures. They could grow cool to the Marshall Plan (now that its slip was showing) but not to the cold war or the Atlantic Pact or the arms program.

Republicans could fight the Brannan Plan; but what could they offer farmers? They could call the Democratic bluff on civil rights; but how would they keep their congressional allies in the poll-tax states?



THE TIGHT ROPE: Republicans had tackled these problems before and failed. Last week the high command in Chicago hoped for success. At least two of the contradictions that plagued them were being solved. Big business (which has the money) and big labor (which has the votes) were no longer far apart. Labor's new emphasis on pensions instead of wages made it possible for a versatile party to make friends with both. The Democrats had proved that. And the southern politicians, eager for alliance with the Republicans, were ready to compromise on the poll-tax to stave off more significant advances of civil rights.

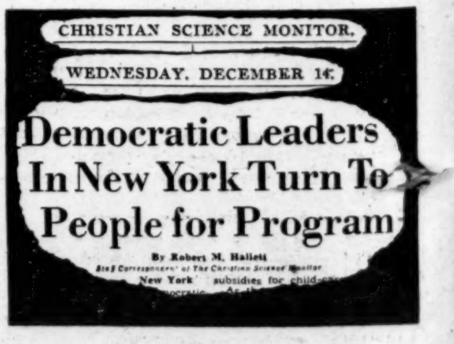
MANY FENCES: But no hard and fast formula for victory could come out of Chicago. Each strategist had his own fence to mend.

Out of the farm belts and the hinterland of industrial states came men like Sen. Kenneth Wherry (Neb.) and Sen. Styles Bridges (N. H.). Traditional Republicans, they speak for farmers and old-line conservatives whose distaste for the Democrats goes back to the Civil War. They have least to fear at the polls.

Representing big and little business are men like Sen. Robert A. Taft (Ohio) and Sen. Arthur Vandenberg (Mich.). They have grown canny in the ceaseless scramble for votes. They need a program.

Lastly there are the "enlightened conservatives" like Sen. Wayne Morse (Ore.), Gov. Earl Warren, (Cal.), Sen. Irving Ives (N. Y.). Their leftward-moving electorate forces them to adopt every progressive catchword they can find. They have to be light on their feet, swift to sidestep, feint or duck. A program might weigh them down.

Each strategist recalled the people back home and in his mind saw workers and farmers, storekeepers, clerks and businessmen as so many ballots. Each category was tagged as "ours," "theirs," "doubtful" or "progressive."


CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14.

Democratic Leaders In New York Turn To People for Program

By Robert M. Hallett

Of all places!

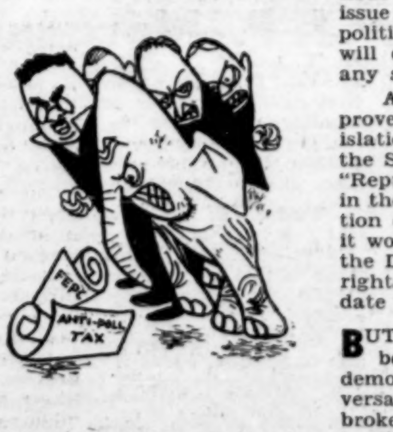
Jennings Perry

64-senator question

TO smash the filibuster and pass legislation providing free elections and fair employment in our Land of the Free, it takes 64 U. S. senators standing up to be counted. Where, oh where can they be?

Sen. Kenneth Wherry, the minority leader, says the Republicans have 35 of them but will not name them. Hugh Scott, chairman of the GOP national committee, will not name them. Val Washington, head of the GOP civil liberties (Negro vote) section, will not name them.

The 35 (out of 40) Republican senators are supposed to have pledged themselves in caucus to stand up and fight the filibuster "this time" for sure. But they will not say so out loud.



The Democrats have three senators from the South—Pepper (Fla.), Kefauver (Tenn.), Graham (N. C.)—against the filibuster, and all the rest from the South on the other side. They have 13 senators from the North and West (14 if Lehman can be counted) "for sure" against the filibuster, and that is all.

IT takes 64 votes to smash the filibuster, and here are but 52, with the showdown less than a month away.

No man would stake his life on the steadfastness of all of the 52. Yet it is into this apparent trap that the U. S. civil rights program is being marched—not with its best foot forward. Senator Lucas, the majority leader who can count on the support of less than half of the Democratic members, has announced that the fair employment bill will be brought up first.

Brought up, one hopes, not to simple slaughter. At the same time it would be stupid not to understand that in provoking the filibuster on FEPC instead of on free elections (anti-poll tax), the Administration is playing into the hands of the filibusterers. It is leading from weakness and inviting defeat.

FAIR employment is of course important. But both in the order of importance and in order of practicability the free elections bill obviously belongs ahead. It is a veteran measure, already sifted and clarified by a decade of debate in Congress.

There is no good reason why the Administration should have decided to bring the filibuster fight on the issue of non-discrimination rather than on the grander issue of the right to vote. The truth is that the lever of political pressure applied on the fulcrum of free election will do more to wipe out discriminatory practices than any statutory prohibition.

Admittedly it would be cute of the Administration to prove, by forcing the showdown on fair employment legislation opposed in parts outside of the South as well as the South, that the filibuster cannot be broken under the "Republican rule" requiring a two-thirds vote for cloture in the Senate. This would save civil rights for Administration championing in still another campaign. Conceivably it would be cute of the Republicans to make monkeys of the Democrats by insisting on the free elections bill—the rights bill that has best chance of passage—at a later date themselves.

BUT among the people only the fatuous could afford to be amused. The rest—those who perceive that political democracy cannot even begin in our country without universal free elections—will urge that the filibuster be broken with the handiest tool, in order that rights laws to which **both** old parties are pledged may go on the books.

If both old parties between them cannot produce 64 of 96 senators to respect their parties' pledges, to say nothing of the basic rights of the people, both are too decrepit—or too dishonest—to deserve to be continued.

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

EISENHOWER

Smile, smile, smile

"AS of now: It looks more and more like Truman vs. Eisenhower in 1952," said the **U.S. News & World Report.**

General of the Army Dwight David Eisenhower had build a political reputation by keeping quiet. In 1948 he had artfully dodged questions on his political views and was boomed by both Republicans and Democrats. This year the General seemed to be talking his reputation to death.

He made Fourth of July speeches in November, addressed women's clubs and businessmen's luncheons, spoke on radio forums, wrote public letters to congressmen. From it all a "philosophy" seemed to be emerging.

At Valley Forge, Pa., like other campaigners before him, he said: "The American dream can and will survive every threat and challenge." Then the heritage of Valley Forge dropped away. He gave a $1,500 prize to Judge Harold R. Medina for his handling of the Foley Square trial. Other prize winners: Herbert Hoover, James F. Byrnes, John Foster Dulles and Little Orphan Annie. The contest was sponsored by Freedom Foundation, Inc., which is run by a New York advertising firm.

IKE'S CREDO: There were other aspects of the emerging Eisenhower philosophy:

- DISASTER:"If we all believe there is a trend abroad in the land to accept government as the only cure of social problems, then eventually there will be no corporations."
- SMILES: Americans who go around with long faces worrying about business or taxes or "wondering what the hell the Russians are going to do next," have the wrong slant. They ought to smile. "I'm talking as a soldier. . . ."
- SOCIAL SECURITY: It will lead to "slothful indolence" and destroy liberty. People seemed to want "champagne and caviar when they should have beer and hot dogs."

It seemed a platform calculated to win all smiling executives or suds and sausage factories.

Last Thursday Eisenhower again denied that he was ready for a Presidential race, insisted he was only a college president. The same day it was announced that U.S. Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, State Dept. expert, was returning to Columbia. He would teach international law to students.. As a sideline, the columnists said, he might give the General a course in how to run for President.

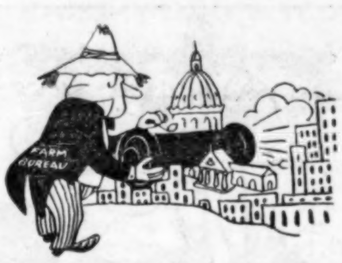
FARM

'Tyranny' of plenty

THE war was on between the American Farm Bureau Federation and the Dept. of Agriculture. From its four-day convention in Chicago the Bureau leaders opened full-scale hostilities against Secretary Brannan and his plan to equalize farm income while reducing food prices for consumers.

The Secretary was pointedly uninvited.

More than one top leader of the Bureau conceded that though the delegates might be unanimously against the plan the membership was far from united. But this did not deter its president, Allan B. Kline, from hurling against it every brickbat in the arsenal of big business. To him it was a "political scheme to get the votes of both farmers and consumers"; it was dangerous to "a dynamic free enterprise system"; it was "the road to tyranny, the end of personal liberty." More than that: "People who propose such a proposition to farmers are very dumb or downright dishonest."



UNFILTERED: Secretary Brannan fought back. He wrote at length and bitterly to Kline, hoping to reach over his head to the membership. At the annual meeting of the Dept. of Agriculture's Production and Marketing Administration in Memphis, Tenn., he said: "The leaders of some organizations . . . apparently take the view that they and only they speak for the farmers. They seem to feel that farmers and the Secretary of Agriculture should be gagged and muzzled unless their voices are filtered through the purifying plants of a particular organization.

At St. Paul, Minn., speaking to the convention of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Assn. attended by 4,000 delegates, he warned that U.S. agriculture is already caught in an economic pincer with farm income dropping while prices of products farmers must buy remain at record heights.

SUNNY-SIDE UP: While spokesmen of big business (Eric Johnson, Paul G. Hoffman) and political opponents of Brannan plumped for the interests of the huge factory farm and corporate landowners at Chicago, a sample of grass-roots sentiment turned up in Vineland, N.J. More than 500 local poultrymen met to insist that Brannan maintain egg prices at 90% of parity, in direct opposition to those arguing that south Jersey poultrymen favored low-level flexible price supports.

THE ECONOMY

STEEL PRICE RISE

'Pensions did it'

BENJAMIN FAIRLESS, president of the U.S. Steel Corp., producer of a third of the nation's steel supply, last week hiked the price $4 a ton. Prices of steel, backbone of industry, affect some 5,000 commodities, from automobiles to garbage cans; a price rise at the factory snowballs to formidable proportions before the consumer pays for it across a counter.

U.S. Steel blamed the price rise on the cost of the pension and insurance programs recently granted the CIO United Steel Workers. But President Truman's Steel Board reported in September that steel companies could put pension and welfare into effect without raising prices.

In fact, the board (conservative in makeup) held that the industry's modernization program, with its resulting higher productivity and lowered costs, made **price reductions** possible without cutting into profits. It maintained that the union would be justified in renewing wage demands "if these profits do not result in benefit to the consumer in the form of lower prices."

UP AND UP AND UP: U.S. Steel's profits in the first nine months of 1949 have been 50% higher than in the same period in 1948, the previous all-time high; Bethlehem Steel's profits, 54% higher; Republic's, 18%.

Executives of the U.S. Steel Corp. refused to say how much the CIO welfare program is increasing costs. But economists estimate that the take from the increased prices will be at least five times the cost of the welfare program.

The CIO said it was "appalled." Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) called for a congressional investigation. For consumers, a two-word headline in the **Wall St. Journal** told the story: "Price Pattern."

WATER SHORTAGE

Parched prophets

"WHOLE civilizations have been wiped out for lack of water," the Washington **Post** observed last week. John J. O'Neill, N.Y. **Herald Tribune** science editor, wrote: "The dust bowl may be . . . advancing across the country."

Westerners talked urgently of a

(Continued on following page)

40 years of reaction

The Farm Bureau and the U.S. —a most "immoral marriage"

By Lawrence Emery

ALLAN B. Kline, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, was an enthusiastic supporter of Thomas E. Dewey in the last presidential election. His enthusiasm was undoubtedly heightened by the thought that if the Republicans won he might become Secretary of Agriculture.

That lost hope may account for some of the bitterness with which Kline now attacks the Brannan Plan and the vigor with which he keeps his organization, largest of its kind, subservient both to the interests of big business and the political fortunes of the Republican Party.

A 40-YEAR TALE: But the story of Farm Bureau reaction is longer and older than that. It goes back to its formation in 1909 under the sponsorship of the Binghamton, N. Y., Chamber of Commerce.

Railroads, interested in continuing to overcharge farmers, helped the young organization financially. The Chicago Board of Trade backed it so liberally that it has been described as "a sort of grandfather."

The Farm Bureau began its work on a county level to spread scientific farming methods as developed by the extension services of the land-grant colleges—services sponsored by the Dept. of Agriculture and paid for from public funds.

VERY MUCH INTERESTED: In 1914 Congress adopted the Smith-Lever Act which offered grants for extension work to states that would match federal funds. The matching funds could come from state, county or local funds, or, most interestingly, from "interested groups of citizens."

The Farm Bureau promptly became such an interested group and, with its big business backing, put up money to match federal grants. As a result, the organization has secured a large measure of control over the government's county agents system.

By 1922 the Farm Bureau had grown to some 1,250,000 members. The active members are big and middle farmers. Today it controls farm organization in at least 11 key states through its tie with government farm apparatus. This relation is described by the Farmers Union as an "infamous and immoral marriage [which] should be immediately dissolved."

ALLAN B. KLINE

Business before Brannan

THE FERTILIZER LOBBY: "We have the spectacle," says the Farmers Union, "of a government agency supporting a private farm organization [which] uses federal money to maintain itself as a private farm lobby."

How well it lobbies was discovered in an early congressional investigation which revealed its Washington representative, Chester Gray, to be an agent of the American Cyanamid Co. and the fertilizer trust in an effort to deliver Muscle Shoals to private business interests. [Muscle Shoals, a fertilizer developing and power project on the Alabama-Tennessee border, was one of the early TVA projects.]

Gray had opposed government operation of Muscle Shoals because "certain reductions in prices are offered] the farmers below cost of producing the fertilizer."

"And," asked a senator, "'you didn't want the farmer to get his fertilizer reduced that way, did you?"

"Not through a gift, not through a dole, not through a pension," said Gray.

FOR THE RIGHT PRICE: A few years later another congressional investigation discovered that the Farm Bureau was against gifts and doles for farmers but was perfectly willing to support gifts and doles to shipowners, for a price.

For $94,000 the Farm Bureau offered to sell itself to the American Steamship Owners' Assn. in its campaign to get huge government subsidies for carrying a few pounds of mail. The entire apparatus of the Farm Bureau, with 15,000 community units, 1,837 county units, 70,000 volunteer leaders and workers, 6,000 paid employes, and lobbies in Chicago and Washington was to have been used as propaganda channels for the special interests of the shipowners. The deal fell through because the price was too high.

But similar services had been performed by the Farm Bureau for the National Lumbermen's Assn., the Portland Cement Assn., the Copper and Brass Research Assn., and the National Automobile Chamber.

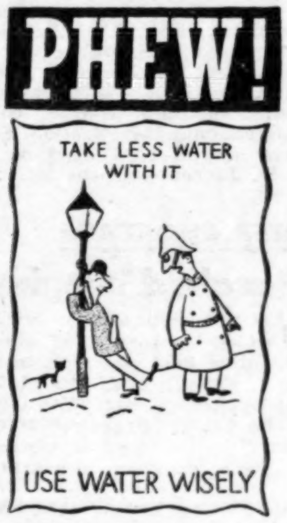
LOVE THAT TAFT-HARTLEY: Long ago the former Sen. George W. Norris of Nebraska was prompted to prophesy of the Farm Bureau: "The time will come when the rank and file of American farmers will begin to realize by whom they are being deceived in Washington."

The Farm Bureau hasn't changed much in recent years. The top leaders, in direct defiance of the views expressed by most of the members, are still against "gifts and doles for farmers" but support every grab of big business. They are anti-labor and not only blessed the Taft-Hartley Act but are militant in their efforts to prevent what Allan Kline calls a "political alliance" between farmers and labor unions.

The Farm Bureau is using its heaviest artillery now for a concentrated attack on the Brannan Plan.

(Continued from preceding page)
planned development program for distilling sea water. Eastern states intimated approaching "water wars" like those which have long irritated the West. Critical water shortages dotted the country from southern California to New Jersey. Cincinnati, Memphis, Peoria and Chicago suburbs were counting the gallons.

RAIN-MAKERS: In New York churchgoers prayed for rain. Some fell but not enough. From Muscatine, Iowa, reader E. A. Eaton wrote to the GUARDIAN: "Read in the papers last week that Cardinal Spellman had asked the faithful to pray for rain in New York State. And what do you suppose happened? Right away it started to rain out here in Iowa and kept it up for two days. I always did think that the Cardinal had his wires crossed and now I know it."


PHEW!
TAKE LESS WATER WITH IT
USE WATER WISELY

Issued by the British Waterworks' Association.

Rationing and lower water pressure were threatened by city officials. Friday was proclaimed "Bathless, Shaveless Day."

Newspapers emblazoned the motto: "Let the beards bristle," but skirted the big problem: Had the water been drained away in leaky faucets or in government bureaus which for years failed to plan for conservation?

LABOR WEEK

THE CIO TRIALS

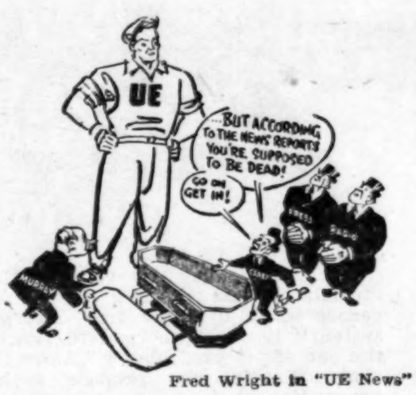
UOP—test case

CIO leaders had singled out the United Office and Professional Workers and the United Public Workers as the first of ten to be kicked out They were to have been tried last week for opposing top-level CIO policy.

On Monday UOPWA leaders went to court to restrain the CIO. They claimed the constitutional amendment making their acts illegal was passed after the acts were said to have been committed; that their basic right to make decisions had been impaired; that their original agreement with CIO guaranteeing autonomy had been broken.

In Philadelphia a federal judge considered the arguments.

The fate of the nine other unions hinged on the UOPWA decision. UOPWA President James Durkin summed up for all in a letter to Philip Murray. He said: "We believe that we have contributed to CIO's growth and accomplishments and that we have a right to be in CIO and that our members have a right to maintain their democratic control of their union. We firmly believe that expulsion of unions . . . will only serve the purposes of anti-union employers."


UE
...BUT ACCORDING TO THE NEWS' REPORTS YOU'RE SUPPOSED TO BE DEAD!
GO ON GET IN!
MURRAY
PRESS
RADIO

Fred Wright in "UE News"

ORGANIZE: The United Electrical Workers (unaffiliated) for its part went on organizing. In Chicago 3,500 workers at the Sunbeam Electrical Co. voted to join UE. Signing Taft-Hartley non-communist oaths permitted UE to participate in National Labor Relations Board elections for the first time.

LUMBERMEN

Strike martyrs free

IN 1946 AFL lumber and sawmill workers began a strike for a union shop in California's redwood empire. It lasted a heartbreaking 27 months, grew bitter and violent. When it was over in 1948 four unionists, Robert Moore, John Bundte, William Phillips and George Sherrard, had been tried and convicted on assault and riot charges. The foreman of the jury was also the foreman of a struck lumber company.

The case was quietly appealed and quietly lost. The forgotten four faced sentences of 1 to 10 years in San Quen-

What does it s

**On Monday the N. Y. Times reported: "
stitute a 'no-day' week for the present th
steps of their own to force him to strike.
sion fund payments, force a walkout an
Taft-Hartley. Miners George Brandi, Geor
seem pleased to read about the operators
away at the operators' front. During the
substantial wage and pension increases.
the big operator**

THE T

HARRY BRIDGES

Perjury by whom?

ON July 18, 1947, Manning R. Johnson was a U.S. witness in the trial of Gerhart Eisler. He testified about a "secret meeting" allegedly attended by two Canadian Communists. The defense immediately proved that the two were in prison at the time. The U.S. prosecutor conceded his witness had lied, but Johnson was never prosecuted for perjury.

HALLINAN AND BRIDGES
It was a devilish week

The Coeur d'Alene story

Mine-Mill holds together despite Murray's wreckers

By Henry Horowitz
GUARDIAN Special Correspondent

SALT LAKE CITY

ON THE same day (Nov. 3) that the CIO convention expelled two left-wing unions—and others, including the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, looked like they were going to travel the same road—three men walked out of the offices of the Bunker Hill & Sullivan Co. at Kellogg, Idaho, major operator in the rich lead-silver-zinc producing district known as the Coeur d'Alene.

The three were top officers of Mine-Mill's Kellogg local, and members of a joint negotiating committee representing some 3,000 hardrock miners and smeltermen who had been on strike for 75 days. Long-standing opponents of Mine-Mill's militant policies, all three had often echoed national CIO attacks on the union's officers and program.

From the Bunker Hill offices they went to a local union meeting, to demand an immediate end of the strike on terms proposed by Bunker Hill and representatives of the district's other strikebound operators.

THE WRECKERS: What happened in Cleveland, Ohio, and Kellogg, Idaho, that day wasn't just coincidence. In Cleveland national CIO was laying down policy dictated by the Truman Administration and Wall St. In the Coeur d'Alene the policy was being carried out.

In Cleveland, too, the small right-wing minority of one union had just been set up as the "official" organization with CIO blessing. In the Coeur d'Alene a similar minority thought their turn was coming within a matter of days—provided there wasn't something like a strike in progress to impede the blitz necessary for swinging 3,000 members out of Mine-Mill overnight.

FARMER ALLIES: Maybe the miners and smeltermen at Kellogg didn't know what had been happening at Cleveland, but they did know what had been happening in the Coeur d'Alene. They knew that a militant policy on clear-cut issues could win powerful allies. Farmers and farm organizations throughout the northwest had sent the strikers 163 tons of flour, spuds, fresh fruit, meat, beans and onions, and had organized collection centers to keep the grub coming in all winter if necessary. Businessmen and merchants all over the district had extended strikers as much credit as they could, pledged not to repossess cars or refrigerators, foreclose on homes or cut off lights or water.

Miners at Kellogg also knew they had begun their strike jointly with the Mine-Mill local at nearby Wallace and had conducted all their negotiations through a joint committee; and that they still needed the wage increase, health and welfare fund and mine-safety code for which they had struck.

BACK TO WORK: They said all this on the union floor the night of Nov. 3, with the result that the demand of the three officers for an immediate vote to end the strike was postponed ten days. In the meantime the Wallace members declared the terms "weren't worth considering."

But by the time the referendum date rolled around at Kellogg, hundreds of miners who had been working elsewhere flocked back into the camp, assuming the strike was over and primed to go back to work. The referendum carried—by a majority of only 224 votes out of a membership of nearly 2,000.

A week later the Wallace local voted to end its strike, but only after it had proved that gains were to be had in the Coeur d'Alene—by improving on the non-economic provisions of the "Kellogg formula."

DEFEATISM IS DEAD: Today nearly all of the 3,000 Coeur d'Alene miners and smeltermen are back on the job. They didn't achieve their economic objectives, but the plans of the right-wing to pull them out of Mine-Mill under the banner of a "pro-CIO" holy crusade failed dismally. Instead of paving the way for a quick bolt out of Mine-Mill, the would-be secessionists have "pulled the chute" on themselves. In four Kellogg membership meetings held since the strike ended, the rank and file has embarrassed the officers with questions about the strike settlement, and instructed them to take immediate steps toward amalgamation with the Wallace local.

Those who tried to tailor the Coeur d'Alene strike settlement to match the new look in national CIO have already seen the end of the apathy and defeatism they nurtured in the local since they took office three years ago. The important fact established in the strike—that the farmer is ready to stand as a powerful ally in future economic battles—has laid the base for a far-reaching program of farmer-labor cooperation on the political front comes the next session of the state legislature.

The strikers found out—even if it was the hard way—that there's more than mere coincidence between "following CIO policy" and the selling out of a strike. More important, they have now got a union that's on the way to becoming the spitting image of that fighting organization born right there in the Coeur d'Alene some 56 years ago, and known today as Mine-Mill.

tin when West Coast labor and progressive forces remembered them. AFL and CIO unions, together with the Civil Rights Congress and other organizations, waged a militant campaign for unconditional pardon (GUARDIAN, Aug. 29).

Last week Gov. Earl Warren responded to the pressure: the sentences were commuted to time served in the county jail pending appeal, and "labor's forgotten men" were free.

it say about us?

ted: "If Mr. (John L.) Lewis does not sub-
ent three-day week, the operators may take
strike." Strategy would be to withhold pen-
ut and then ask President Truman to use
, George Cattley and Don McGregor (above)
erators' squirming. Lewis continued to pick
ng the week he signed up several more for
reases. At the weekend negotiations with
erators continued.

A *cross-country report*

Progressives round out '49 with a spurt of activity

STATE conventions, state-wide job conferences, civil rights battles, debates, support to strikers, action against private power rates, aid to migratory workers are some of the activities currently keeping Progressive Party members busy around the U.S. from Maine to Arizona. A GUARDIAN survey showed these things happening:

VERMONT: Delegates met in a state convention in Rutland heard guest speakers Cedric Belfrage, GUARDIAN editor, and Florence Luscomb, vice-chairman of the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union and treasurer of the Progressive Party in that state, then enacted this program for Vermont: State power authority, action on the St. Lawrence seaway project, the Brannan farm plan, a special session of the legislature to increase jobless benefits.

In Burlington, Progressives were backing the battle of locked out union printers of the Burlington **Daily News** and **St. Alban's Messenger.**

In Bennington, a fund drive for strikers at the Bijur Lubricating Co. was sponsored by the Progressive Party.

MAINE: A state convention in Portland adopted a platform for peace and plenty, demanded the development of the old Passamaquoddy power project, mapped a fight against a local shoe manufacturers' association's demand for a 12% wage cut, and vowed to make themselves heard in the 1950 elections.

COLORADO: From a half-dozen or more cities and towns came delegates to a Progressive Party Conference on Jobs and the Economic Crisis. Discussion panels helped work out a comprehensive program for dealing with unemployment. To the governor went a demand for a special session of the legislature to deal with the situation.

IOWA: A jimcrow fight of the Progressive Party dating from July, 1948, was finally won. The Katz Drugstore in Des Moines, part of a big midwest chain, agreed henceforth to serve Negro customers "as courteously as others." Court action, led by Charles P. Howard, keynote speaker at the founding convention of the Progressive Party, and a succession of Saturday afternoon sit-ins at the drugstore lunch counter, won the battle.

P.P.
P.P.
P.P.
P.P.
P.P.
P.P.
P.P.
P.P.
P.P.

In Sioux City, the PP, with many other organizations, pushed the fight to free Terry Lee Sims, young Negro framed on a rape charge and sentenced to 40 years. The problem: mustering funds and public support to carry through an appeal to the state supreme court.

NEW JERSEY: In Newark Assemblyman T. James Tumulty, co-author of Jersey's recently-outlawed loyalty oath law directed against the Progressive Party, debated O. John Rogge, former Assistant U.S. Attorney General and civil rights champion. Midway in the contest Tumulty leaped to his feet, scattered his papers, shouted "Lie!" and stalked red-faced from the hall. This Rogge remark prompted the explosion: "I am opposed to the authoritarian principles of the Catholic Church. The church declared a holy war on Mohammedanism. Now it has declared a holy war against Communists because they don't think like the Catholics."

ILLINOIS: Expanded activities in preparation for 1950 elections forced the Progressive Party into larger Chicago headquarters, with its own meeting hall. New address: 170 W. Washington St. Phone: RAndolph 6-9270. The same expansion led to formation of a Women's Division headed by Lillian Larvanette and Rose Rose. Pauline McGrath is secretary, Elaine Steinberg, treasurer.

NEW YORK: In Hempstead the American Labor Party has long fought racial discrimination in Levittown, the huge private housing development headed by William J. Levitt. Last week, using the recent Federal Housing Authority ruling on discrimination, the ALP demanded teeth in the ruling to make it enforceable, planned new steps at Levittown itself.

ARIZONA: Amazed at the size of a dividend declared by the Tucson Gas, Electric Light & Power Co. ($126,000), the Pima County PP dispatched a resolution to the State Corporation Commission demanding that "extortionate rates" be promptly reduced. It mapped a campaign to back up the demand.

PENNSYLVANIA: The Alleghany County Committee of the PP elected as regional director for western Pennsylvania Alexander Wright, prominent Negro labor leader and his party's candidate for city council in the recent elections.

TEXAS: Progressives tackled a big local problem: San Antonio ("Where the Sunshine Spends the Winter") is one of the south's greatest mobilization centers for migratory workers. In winter, when the fruit, vegetable and cotton crops are in, they come "home" to San Antonio. One result: the city has the highest tuberculosis death rate of any large city in the U.S. Progressives are campaigning for a program to end the killing poverty and lack of public aid—health, housing and compensation—for migratory workers.

TRIALS

Last week Johnson, an ex-Communist who on his own admission has testified against progressives "18 or 20 times," was the star U.S. witness in the perjury trial of Harry Bridges. His story—that he had seen Bridges elected to the Communists' National Committee in 1936—was designed to prove that Bridges lied in 1945 in telling naturalization officials he was not a Communist.

THE SEA GETS ROUGH: Johnson ran into trouble on cross-examination. Forced to admit he never met Bridges personally, he spun out an explanation of tactics he said Communists employed to conceal Bridges' identity. When defense counsel James MacInnis suggested that he might be a "professional" witness, Johnson fumed: "That's a flagitious insinuation!" (Webster defines "flagitious" as "grossly wicked.")

"No man could serve Stalin and Uncle Sam," said Johnson, any more than he could serve "God and Beezlebub." Defense counsel Vincent Hallinan demanded an identification. "Is Beezlebub a government witness or who?" he asked. When the prosecutor identified his as "Beelzebub, one of Satan's chief associates," Hallinan retorted: "You and the witness should use the same devils."

PITY THE POOR JUDGE: Judge George B. Harris, borrowing the robe of pious judicial martyrdom from Foley Square's Medina, showed himself an apt pupil of the New York judge now recuperating in Bermuda from the Communist leaders' trial. Scolding the defense, Harris said: "I have strength enough left for one more admonition. . . . I regard such statements as misconduct."

ALGER HISS

Men of character

THROUGHOUT his government career, climaxed by important roles at the Yalta and San Francisco conferences, Alger Hiss moved quietly among distinguished men. Last week his friends moved across the witness stand at Foley Square to open Hiss' second perjury defense against the U.S. and Whittaker Chambers.

Among them were John W. Davis, one-time Democratic Presidential nominee; Francis B. Sayre, former Assistant Secretary of State; Stanley Hornbeck, former State Dept. Far East chief; Philip Jessup, UN delegate (by deposition). Only one big name came up against Hiss; Hornbeck said that William C. Bullitt once called Hiss a Communist.

Sayre and Hornbeck had been the defendant's bosses; from them the government could extract no indication that they believed Chambers' story that Hiss had stolen documents for a "Communist apparatus."

COPLON-GUBITCHEV

Tappers trapped

WIRE-TAPPING is illegal under U.S. law. Last week the FBI was exposed as a law-breaker. It was forced to admit that it had tapped the phones and intercepted the mail of Judith Coplon and Valentin Gubitchev, whom the government hopes to convict of conspiracy to commit espionage.

FBI agents and U.S. prosecutors insisted that no worthwhile evidence was obtained from the taps; only "leads." Attorney General (now Supreme Court Justice) Tom Clark himself authorized the illegal taps, they pointed out.

IT'S GOT TO BE LEGAL: Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan ruled that the government must prove its evidence came from legal sources; otherwise he must throw out the indictments.

To Gubitchev the turn of events offered hope that he might escape trial completely. For Miss Coplon there arose the possibility that her conviction in Washington might be successfully challenged. That court had barred all questions on wire-tapping.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

CHICAGO

Police-landlord terror defied by ex-GI

IN Chicago last week it seemed that land was a club with which to beat one's neighbors, or a prize for politicians.

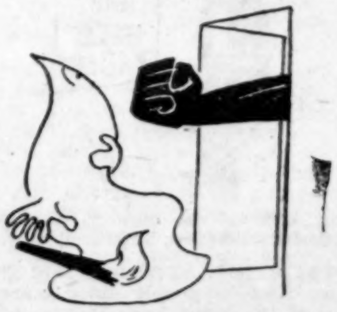
In the Park Manor district, on the South Side, white property owners inciting violence to keep Negroes out. Police had to guard the home of Roscoe Johnson, a Negro buyer whose family was terrorized by mobs last summer.

Recently the **Alarm Clock,** a Park Manor racist sheet, called attention to "Emil Kvatek of 6961 S. Eberhart, who sold to colored; we have not located his new residence yet."

INVITATION TO MURDER: But the racists knew that a Negro family, Thomas Phillips, his wife and small son, had moved into the Kvatek house. GUARDIAN's Rod Holmgren reported what followed:

Windows were smashed, an attempt made to burn the garage. Phillips demanded police protection, didn't get it. A crude bomb landed in the front hall, burned a rug and part of the wall.

Phillips phoned City Hall, and told officials he was taking his family's protection into his own hands. Within two hours Police Commissioner Prendergast himself stood at Phillips' door to caution the angry man. Replied the 29-year-old war veteran: "I thought you were out to cut down murders in Chicago. I'm a peaceful man, but you're making a murderer out of me." Fifteen minutes later two policemen were stationed at the home, have been there nightly since.



RACISM IS THE FOE: Phillips told his story to a weekend meeting of the Conference to End Mob Violence, organized in the wake of S. Peoria St. rioting incited by real estate racists against the home of Aaron Bindman and William Sennett.

The Peoria St. victims obtained court

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

warrants charging 37 rioters with conspiracy and assault, instead of "disorderly conduct." None has been arrested yet. Leading roles in the fight against racist mobs are being taken by Richard Westbrooks, a Negro attorney of the Cook County Bar Assn., and Max Naiman of the Civil Rights Congress.

Arvey's good earth

Jacob M. Arvey, Democratic Party boss and acting national committeeman, had turned a neat trick with some real estate but last week seemed unhappy at the resulting publicity. The Chicago **Sun-Times** reported that an Arvey syndicate had bought Loop property across which the city was to build a super-highway.

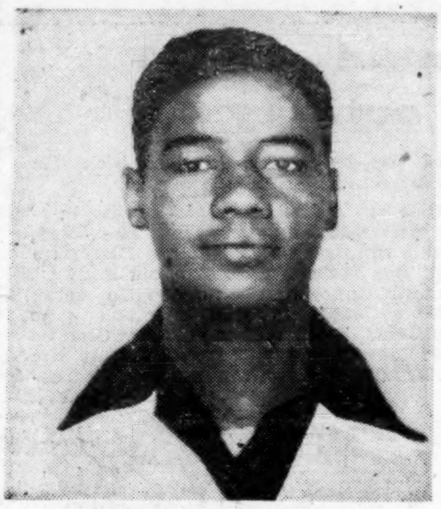
The syndicate bought it for little; the city, with taxpayers' money, paid a lot to the syndicate when it condemned the property. Profit to Arvey and company: $300,000.

N. CAROLINA

Land is a weapon

NORTH Carolina landlords dictate the sharecropper's production, keep the records, pick the sheriff, control the courts. No landlord gives his tenant anything in writing.

Mrs. Alice Daniels raised a good crop of corn, peanuts and cotton on shares. It would have brought enough to feed the children living with her near Greenville. And there might have been some left to help her win the freedom of her son, Lloyd Ray, and his cousin Bennie, framed last year on false charges of killing a white cab-driver.



LLOYD RAY DANIELS
Christmas behind bars

THE RULE OF TERROR: But Alice Daniels' landlord, Bruce McLawhorn, has announced that she will get nothing for the crop and must leave the farm. "I'll see to it," he said, "that no money made on my farm goes to help that boy."

While the nation's press ignored the case and Mrs. Daniels and her family ate the remnants of the peanut crop and wondered where to go, Lloyd Ray and Bennie Daniels waited in the Raleigh death house for a sign of hope. The State Supreme Court stalled on their appeal, though it was clear the teen-age boys were convicted almost a year ago only on "confessions" extracted by beatings.

The Daniels Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1601, Durham, N.C., has appealed for contributions and for letters urging Gov. W. Kerr Scott to find the real killers and halt the inhuman treatment of Mrs. Daniels.

Low income America

3 kids in 30 mentally ill —millions get bad schooling

Special to the GUARDIAN

WASHINGTON

THE figures on what Gen. Eisenhower and Sen. Taft call the U.S. welfare state were shocking. John L. Thurston, acting administrator of social security, gave them last week to the subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee studying the status of low-income families.

The committee was interested, said chairman John Sparkman (D-Ala.), because lack of purchasing power among low-income families probably has a bad effect on the economy.

Thurston, serious and obviously sincere, kept trying to picture the suffering behind the figures. Committee members listened, but rarely saw.

NO HELP WANTED
R.J.

STATISTICS: "Perhaps," said Thurston, "3,500,000 people under 65 are now out of the labor force because of disability. Probably 1,000,000 or more of these are family heads . . . In April, 1949, there were, all told, some 5,500,000 families in the country headed by a non-wage-earner."

This figure doesn't turn up in the latest Census Bureau report which listed 3,409,000 unemployed as of Nov. 6 to 12 this year. It is hidden in the figure of 45,701,000 individuals listed "not in the labor force."

Actually, of the 5,500,000 non-wage-earning family heads, 2,620,000 are over 64 and 1,330,000 are women under 64.

PEOPLE: A substantial portion of the income of these families, Thurston said, comes from the social insurance program. One-fifth of the beneficiary families have less than $150 annual income in addition to their benefits. Ten per cent have no additional income.

The benefits are meager. In June the average monthly payments for the aged were: single person, $25; retired worker and wife, $41; widow with three children, $53.

Thurston tried to suggest the meaning of these dry "heads of families" figures in terms of shaping people:

"Nobody really knows how many millons of children are mentally or emotionally maladjusted. But estimates by some authorities are appalling—perhaps three children in every average classroom of 30 pupils are destined to spend a part of their lives in a mental hospital . . . Two million boys and girls from 6 to 17 years of age are not in school at all; millions of others are getting a substandard education."

CONGRESSMEN: This was the sage comment of Sen. Ralph E. Flanders (R-Vt.) on Thurston's testimony: "A good spanking at some stage might prevent all these mental cases." On the train from Boston the Senator had seen many television aerials on low income farm family houses. Why, he wanted to know, didn't they use that money to send their children to school?

Rep. Robert F. Rich (R-Pa.) was unimpressed by the talk of mental disturbances in the nation at large. He thought it should be applied to government: every employe over 60 from the White House down ought to be given a test to determine "if he is compus menti."

PEEKSKILL AFTERMATH

The legal challenge

FOUR months ago Paul Robeson and the people who had come to hear him sing stood in Peekskill while veterans and teen-aged hoodlums bombarded them with rocks and policemen looked on—or helped. State officials said it was the fault of Robeson and his supporters. Peekskill super-patriots congratulated themselves on a job well done.

Last week, in a federal court in New York, Robeson and 27 others filed damage suits for $2,000,000 against the Peekskill Veterans Joint Council, the Associated Veterans Council, Westchester District Attorney George M. Fanelli and state police officials. Under the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the suits charged personal injury and loss of civil rights. They also demanded that the inciters be permanently enjoined "from further conspiring and interfering with plaintiffs and others who hereafter may peaceably assemble in Westchester County for the purpose of holding discussions and assemblies."

UN-AMERICANISM

Dies alive

DURING the Roosevelt era a notorious name caused confusion among newspaper readers confronted with such headlines as "DIES IN CELL," "DIES IN HAIL OF BULLETS," "DIES AT DEMOCRATIC DINNER." Martin Dies, cause of the confusion, never died; the Texas Representative and first chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee retired in 1944.

Last week he emerged from obscurity in a role that made people rub their eyes. In Fort Worth, Tex., Edwin A. Elliott, regional director of the National Labor Relations Board, was summoned to a government loyalty hearing on charges of being a Communist. He was defended by Martin Dies, who declared: "The whole procedure is un-American."

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Freedom, but—

"AS long as information is free in this country we have no fear for our institutions. No dictator ever existed without censorship or no democracy with it."

Students at Duke University applauded as George V. Allen, retiring Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, hit this high spot of his address on Dec. 10. Some members of the Board of Education in Washington, D.C., were embarassed. The day before, Superintendent of Schools Hobart M. Corning had ordered all copies of the **Soviet Information Bulletin** removed from school libraries.

The **Bulletin**, a slick-paper picture magazine on life in the U.S.S.R., has been published twice a month for the last nine years by the Soviet Embassy. In Russia the U.S. puts out a corresponding magazine with a circulation of 50,000.

In Texas, Indiana, Massachusetts and elsewhere school officials have burned the **Bulletin**. Copies have been destroyed by school librarians. The Houston **Chronicle** objected because "dictator Joe Stalin is not called a dictator in this publication."

RELIGION

LEGION AND CHURCH

A pastor's courage

REV. Albert Wallace Kauffman, a "Lincoln Republican" who says he is "sometimes ashamed of being so right-wing," teaches Latin and English at the Sunfield, Mich., high school (of which he is superintendent) on weekdays; preaches at the Congregational Church in Vernon, Mich., on Sundays. He practices what he preaches year in, year out. After World War I, in Vermont, he was attacked for supporting the League of Nations. During the '20's in Youngstown, Ohio, he fought the Ku Klux Klan. Last October, in a letter to **Soviet Russia Today**, he wrote:

"If only we can live through the present Truman Administration and until the fervor of the radical and foolish patriotic organizations cools off, I am sure there will be no war with Russia . . . The greatest promoter of war with Russia is the Vatican and the hireling priests that swarm over the United States in an effort to put the Roman Church in power here."

SOMETHING TWISTED: In a fuming nationally-syndicated column George E. Sokolsky last month warned: "There is something very twisted in the Rev. Mr. Kauffman's thinking," and asked: "How can patriotic organizations be foolish?'" The ire of the American Legion was aroused, and Kauffman's suspension from both the church and the school board was announced.

When Kauffman took to the pulpit on Sunday, Dec. 4, his church was ringed by members of the Legion. Said one spectator: "I saw the Legionnaires drive up in front of Jack's beer garden, get a beer, come out, and wander around in front of the church in a disgusting way." Kauffman told his congregation that the letter that caused the storm did not refer to any specific group of "patriots" nor reflect on "any group of law-abiding veterans." He admired and had cooperated with the American Legion's work for crippled children.

"We've got to lick this thing, we can't let them interfere in the church," Kauffman told parishioners after service. Last week a majority of church and school boards voted to cancel the suspensions. "Rural citizens of this area," a local citizen reported to the GUARDIAN, "are not impressed with the Michigan Dept. of the American Legion."

FATHER DUFFY

Telling the Monsignor

THROUGHOUT the fall, Roman Catholic Father Clarence J. Duffy campaigned for the Progressive Party. Opponents whispered that he was not a priest. In last month's run-off primary in predominantly Catholic Lawrence, Mass., he stumped for the Rev. Amos Murphy, a Protestant minister. Edward R. Gaffney, Vicar General of the N. Y. Archdiocese, took a hand in the campaign. He tried to make the whispers official and announced that Father Duffy was not a priest in good standing. Last week Father Duffy wrote to Msgr. Gaffney:

"You know it to be untrue. You know, if you know anything about Canon Law, and the only person outside of the Pope who can deprive me of my good standing . . . is the Bishop of Kilmore (in Eire)." (The Bishop of Kilmore died last April. His see has not yet been filled.) Demanding public retraction, Father Duffy warned the Monsignor of "the strife and the scandal that will arise from your failure to observe, or your contempt for, the Commandment: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor'."

THE WORLD

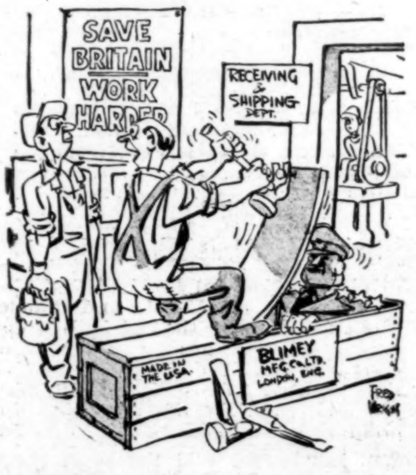
WESTERN EUROPE

The barons dine; neighbors are jumpy

IN the ornate dining room of the luxurious Breitenbacher Hof in Duesseldorf, the industrial and financial barons of the Ruhr dined and chatted—their first party in public view since the war. The British watched nervously, concerned, they said, about the growing activity of the Ruhr owners who powered Germany through two world wars, and were now back at their old stand.

The Ruhr barons had reason to celebrate. A colleague of theirs, Herman Abs, director of the Deutsche Bank, which financed Hitler's rearmament and directed the Nazi looting of Europe, was in Washington on important business with important men. The presence in the U.S. of Abs, one of Hitler's most important financial backers, was kept secret for three weeks. It was revealed finally by Senator Guy Gillette (D-Ia.) when he could get no satisfaction from the State Dept. on the reasons for Abs' visit.

REICH PREFERRED: On the Zurich stock exchange German industrial shares soared. Swiss operators explained that confidence in Germany industry stemmed from U.S. backing of German reconstruction. The Marshall Plan had rebuilt Germany. But other "beneficiaries" were faring badly. British issues on the Swiss exchange sank to the lowest level since devaluation. Stock exchange experts saw no grounds for confidence in the pound. Britain's dollar earnings from exports, they said, had shrunk since devaluation and Britain's future looked bleak.



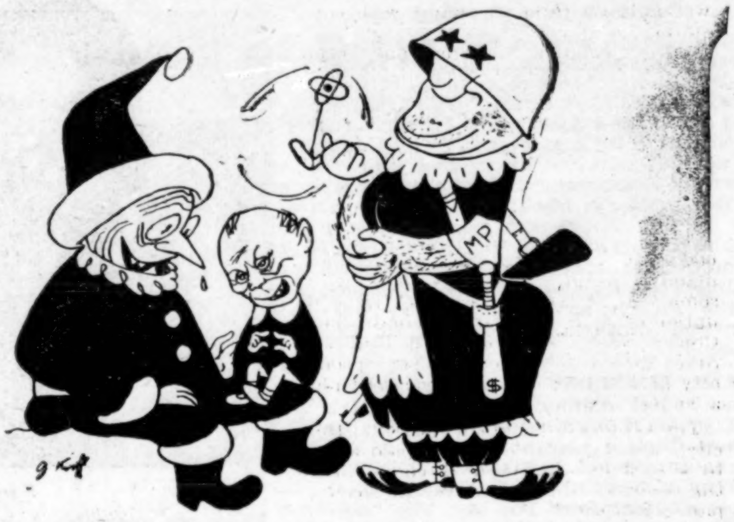
"Well, I wonder what the ECA is shipping to us now . . . ?"

TOO BEAUTIFUL: In Paris U.S. officials were startled by the results of a poll on the Marshall Plan in western Europe by the N. Y. Foreign Opinion and Market Research. It revealed that in France only four persons in every 100 credited the Marshall Plan with being a factor in French recovery; only 38% thought it had been good for their country. One U.S. official remarked: "These people are absorbed by the thought that there are strings to this too beautiful thing."

European officials talked loudly of the expected benefits from the projected economic union of Britain and Scandinavia, and of France, Italy and Benelux. But a N. Y. **Times** dispatch from Paris revealed that European experts conceded the proposed trade blocs "will not achieve a great deal toward freeing trade within Europe" but "will embellish the report that Paul Hoffman, Economic Cooperation Administration, will make to Congress, which is considered their main purpose."

SURPLUSAGES: In Washington Congress was already preparing to write new restrictions into next year's Marshall Plan appropriations. Funds, said the **Journal of Commerce,** will be earmarked "for specific purposes," reflecting the "determination of farm state congressmen to insure a market for at least a portion of American surplusages whether the Europeans want the commodities or not."

The Administration was cracking the whip on its Marshall Plan-Atlantic Pact satellites. As the price of military assistance, it demanded the virtual right of veto over their export trade, under the guise of controlling shipment of war and war-potential material. To this, Britain and France protested.



ADENAUER: "Please, Santa, just a teentsy-weentsy army . . ."

THE STERLING SQUEEZE: The U.S. was squeezing Britain hard. The new battlecry in the U.S. economic war was that Britain must be relieved of the "huge burden" of the "sterling balances," that is, of her war-contracted debts to other members of the sterling area, particularly India and Egypt. These amounted to about $15,000,000,000 at the old rate of exchange, about $10,000,000,000 at the new.

The U.S. has long objected to Britain's efforts to pay off these debts. The reason is that these creditor areas created a protected market for British goods that are owed them, and for additional British goods at higher than world prices. This has helped Britain maintain employment.

The U.S. wants to take over these debts or at least part of them in order to break into Britain's empire and commonwealth markets. British experts were in Washington last week discussing this and related problems.

CHINA

The pets leave — people remain

TWO terriers, a young Irish setter, four cats and 20 people boarded the S.S. Lakeland Victory off Tientsin, China. The people were Angus Ward, former U.S. Consul General at Mukden, Manchuria, and his party. Ward said: "We left absolutely nothing behind."

To waiting newsmen, he complained that though he had asked for first class accommodations for the trip from Mukden to Tientsin, the Chinese gave him third class passage, charged $7,000 to transport the whole party, livestock and people; that his trial and conviction for beating up a Chinese servant was a "brutal disregard" for law and justice. Ward insisted that the servant had not been beaten; in "pure frustration" he had banged his own nead twice against the iron stair rail of the U.S. Consulate.

EXIT CHIANG: The Chinese Nationalist government also embarked—like Ward, leaving nothing behind but the Chinese people. The last straws came when two Szechwan generals, Sikang Governor Liu Wen-hai and Yunnan Governor Lu Han, went over to the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek had been in Yunnan, barely escaped capture. He vowed to carry on from Formosa and shot 11 alleged Communists to prove he still had morale.

Control of Yunnan put Communist armies right at the boarder of Viet-Nam, which frightened Leon Pignon, French High Commissioner. He said he

(Continued on following page)

United Nations report

How the strange lineups came about on Jerusalem

GUARDIAN UN correspondence

LAKE SUCCESS

ON the evening before its adjournment the General Assembly saw a spectacular revolt of the majority against Anglo-U.S. pressure, and against the trickiest motion for adjournment ever submitted to prevent the majority from prevailing.

The question of Jerusalem arouses passion among reporters as among delegates. Some papers predicted until the last moment that internationalization of the city would be rejected, although it had been approved twice previously by committees—by 35 to 15 (11 abstentions) in the Special Political Committee of the 59 member states.

Within the "for" and "against" camps were some strange allies. Here's why they voted as they did:

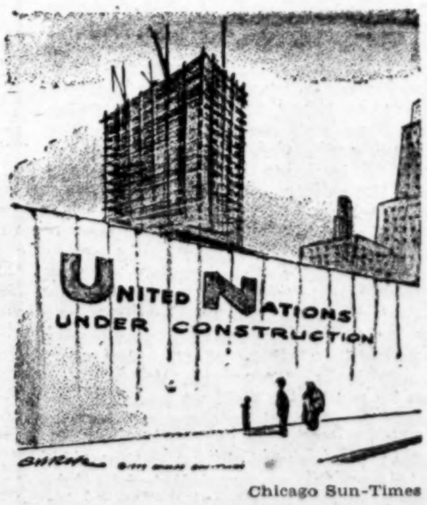
Contra

ISRAEL wants Jerusalem's New City as its capital for sentimental, strategic and prestige reasons. In apparent defiance of UN it moved its government last week from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. "For the State of Israel," said Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, "there is, has been and always will be one capital only—Jerusalem, the Eternal." He added: "Israel is aligned against the whole world."

JORDAN, whose armies fought Israel, wants the Old City (which it occupies) as its capital. Jordan, too, announced it would not comply with the resolution on Jerusalem.

BRITAIN, opposing internationalization in the debate as "impracticable" because UN has no armies to enforce it, has a definite practical interest behind its opposition: its treaty with Jordan, under which it can maintain troops in Jerusalem.

THE U.S., needing to please Israel, Britain and the Arabs at the same time, managed to support Israel, the British and one Arab power (Jordan) by opposing the plan as impracticable. Uruguay, Guatemala, Norway, Sweden, Canada, South Africa, Iceland, Denmark, Costa Rica, Yugoslavia and Turkey took the same stand.



Chicago Sun-Times

"Well, Rome wasn't built in a day, either."

Pro

THE VATICAN exercised pressure on Latin American and other Catholic countries. By its very nature it could not accept division of the Holy City among one Moslem and one Jewish state—transformation of it into two political capitals with exclusion of Christians from its administration.

THE SLAVS (Soviets, Poles, Czechs) favored internationalization because, if Jerusalem is put under UN trusteeship, the Soviet Union (a member of the Trusteeship Council) will have a voice in its administration. They also opposed the return of Britain to Jerusalem through the back door of Jordan.

THE ARABS regard Jerusalem as an Arab city; if it can't be that, they want it internationalized. They despise Jordan's Abdullah for being a British puppet and for dealing with Israel behind their backs. Pakistan, a Moslem country, felt the same. Burma, China, India, Liberia and Ethiopia supported their Arab friends.

THE LUNCH THAT FAILED: When, during the 48 hours preceding the final vote, the Anglo-Americans saw their pressure efforts failing, they consulted with Mexico, Uruguay and a few others at lunch-time. As a result, just before the vote after debate was closed, Dr. Fabregat of Uruguay moved to adjourn discussion: not for a day or two—until some time next year, during a special session called for the purpose.

That was too much, even for the French delegation which frankly favored internationalization only on government instructions and personally didn't like it. Time after time Charles Malik of Lebanon went to the rostrum and argued with the president—Carlos Romulo of the Philippines—that Uruguay's motion was preposterous: that sincerity could have won a postponement but such a tricky move couldn't. When the resolution on internationalization finally was voted on, such was the Assembly's temper that it got more votes than in committee: 38 in favor instead of 35, 14 against, 7 abstentions.

It was a strange victory—for no-one knows how to make Jerusalem a UN Trusteeship against the determination of Israelis and Jordanis already installed there. But it demonstrated that the Assembly can—if the majority wants it—resist Anglo-U.S. pressure and shape astonishing new coalitions.

(Continued from preceding page)

had 150,000 men to resist any border crossing by Chinese Communist armies. Despite his 150,000 men (many of them ex-Nazi soldiers serving in the Foreign Legion) and four years of what the French call "la sale guerre" (the dirty war), Pignon had been unable to wipe out a Viet-Namese independence army led by Ho Chi Minh.

Fleeing Nationalist soldiers already had crossed over into Viet-Nam. French authorities said they were disarmed. In Peking, Chinese Communists warned the French against using the "disarmed" Nationalists to fight Ho Chi Minh.

EXIT EMPEROR: French army authorities looked around wildly for support. They asked Britain not to recognize the new Chinese government until it had guaranteed not to "molest" Viet-Nam. They also asked recognition for their puppet "Emperor" Bao Dai. The "Emperor" himself looked across the border into China, decided to take a trip to Paris.

Recognition pressure

. In London a mass conference attended by delegates representing 860,000 trade unionists demanded friendship and immediate recognition of the new China.

In Pacific Grove, Cal., Roger D. Lapham, former ECA chief in China, urged recognition as "the only practical way to keep the door open." [In Washington, there was official silence on China, but Dean Acheson announced U.S. recognition of fascist-minded Panamanian President Arnulfo Arias, although he voiced disapproval of the police coup which had brought Arias to power.]

The National Assn. of Manufacturers' Earl Bunting advised no recognition until the NAM could find out first whether the new Chinese government was stable and could be dealt with. NAM President Wallace Bennet said he knew nothing about China but thought U.S. money would not be welcome there.

The land is for food to eat

These are unemployed, landless Italian farmers and their families seizing unused land near Rome. Police arrested 300 in the area for "abusive occupation of private land and resistance to authorities." They got off easy. In other places, police of Christian Democrat Premier Alcide de Gasperi used their guns to drive the farmers off the land. The land belongs to rich, absentee landowners who don't have to farm for a living. These scenes are being repeated all over Italy and the government is afraid to use guns for fear of a civil war.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Imperial freeze

The contest [was] between a Labor Party, with hardened arteries, which had abandoned much of its faith in socialism, and a National Party whose advocacy of free enterprise included unqualified adherence to the Welfare State. In these circumstances the political pendulum swings in a vacuum.—**New Statesman and Nation** (London) commenting on New Zealand elections.

There is no dynamic in the leadership of either Party [Labor or Tory] . . . The rank-and-file discovers that the structure of society and industrial relations remains almost unaltered. . . . Not only wages but the whole social structure has been frozen.—Same paper commenting on forthcoming election in Britain.

TORIES and Laborites gleefully held up straws last week which, they said, pointed to the triumph of their respective parties. The difference was that Tories had to find their straws 14,000 miles away in Australia and New Zealand; Laborites picked up theirs four hours by train from London.

After 14 years in power, Laborites in New Zealand were defeated by a Conservative coalition. Australian Laborites lost after eight years. But in a by-election in South Bradford, England, Labor's candidate polled more votes than the Tory and Liberal candidates combined, although Tories increased their vote by 25% at the expense of the Liberals. Labor lost 1% of its vote. It was the 35th by-election won by Labor, the first since devaluation. Labor spokesmen said it was "a convincing demonstration of confidence in the government."

Unconvinced London bookmakers reduced Labor's chances for re-election from seven to four to six to four.

LOYAL TO THE OPPOSITION: No basic differences divided Labor from its opposition anywhere. Both would carry on the cold war. Labor had slowed nationalization almost to a standstill; Conservatives only promised to stop it altogether without undoing any of the reforms Labor had introduced.

Basic issues will be raised sharply in Britain's general election if Premier Clement Attlee sticks to his decision to seek election from the solidly-Labor constituency of Walthamstow West. Ex-Labor MP H. Lester Hutchinson, who toured the U.S. last year with Henry Wallace, said he would fight Attlee for the seat.

"As head of the government," said Hutchinson, "Mr. Attlee is responsible for the betrayal of Labor's 1945 pledges. . . . It is impossible to have a Tory policy abroad and a Socialist policy at home."

U. S. S. R.

Love and hate at 70

HIS portrait hangs on the wall of a peasant hut in China; his statue marks a town square in Central Asia; his face appears on posters in Prague, Sofia, Warsaw. There are close to 600,000,000 copies of his writings translated into more than 10 languages.

To 700,000,000 people in the socialist world his moustached face with the beetling eyebrows symbolizes socialism triumphant. The honor they pay it mystifies millions behind the Dollar Curtain, who agree that the face is a symbol and for that reason hate it. In every part of the world his name is in every issue of every paper.

Last week the world prepared to celebrate in various ways his 70th birthday on Dec. 21. Five ten-ton railway cars were fitted out to carry gifts to him from Rumania. China was sending some of its ancient classic paintings. Soviet workers prepared to report higher production quotas. The U.S. would fire a salvo of editorials.

Joseph Stalin smoked his pipe and continued to work.

BULGARIA

Kostov must die

ONE after another, ten defendants in a Sofia courtroom admitted conspiring to tear Bulgaria away from the Cominform and tie it to an anti-Soviet alliance with Yugoslavia. The names of U.S. and British diplomats were brought up frequently. Most of the ten named the 11th defendant, Traicho Kostov, former Deputy Premier and Central Committee secretary of Bulgaria's Communist Party, as leader of the plot.

Kostov did not cross-examine the witnesses, as was his right. When his turn came to speak, he denied again that he had ever spied or plotted, said he "always had respect" for the Soviet Union. His lawyer told the court the charges against his client had been proved, and vehemently urged him to confirm his detailed pre-trial confession. At the trial's end Kostov was convicted and sentenced to be hanged. Five of his co-defendants were sent to jail for life, the others for terms of eight to 15 years.

TRAICHO KOSTOV
Death by hanging

U.S. ANGLE: The trial had become an incident between the U.S. and Bulgaria. In Washington, Bulgarian Charge d'Affaires Peter Voutov was summoned to the State Dept. for a lecture on diplomacy: the lesson was that Bulgaria should stop implicating U.S. diplomats in its trials.

In Yugoslavia, ten Russian emigres began sentences ranging from three to 20 years at hard labor after conviction on charges of collaborating with Nazis during the war and spying for the Soviet Union after it.

The Philippines today

A billion U. S. dollars prop a corrupt and venal rule

By Kumar Goshal

IN Manila's House of Representatives, ringed for the occasion by special police guards, incumbent Elpidio Quirino was formally named President of the Philippines for another four-year term last Monday.

Using the powers of his office without scruple, Quirino had got himself re-elected in an election marked by terrorism, bribery and fraud. In Occidental Negros, for example, voters could not leave their homes on election day until they satisfied police which candidate they would vote for.

From two districts of Lanao province the Manila **Times** reported, under the heading of "unusual returns," the following: **Pualas**—Quirino 2,228, Laurel 0, Avelino 1; **Madalum**—Quirino 6,038, Laurel 0, Avelino 0.

PAYOFF FOR JOSE: In protest against the frauds in his own province of Cebu, former President Sergio Osmena resigned from the Council of State. Voters there were intimidated by armed bands of special police led by Gov. Cuenco of Cebu, one of Quirino's Liberal Party leaders. In many places ballot boxes simply disappeared.

Congress ratification of Quirino's re-election was barely squeezed through by an 11th-hour deal with the splinter party of his rival Jose Avelino, whom Quirino had previously ousted from the Senate on charges of mishandling public funds. Avelino is now reported to be leaving for South America "on a diplomatic mission."

ROSY ROAD TO RUIN: President Quirino's new lease on Malacanan palace comes at a time when the Philippine economy—declining sharply during the Roxas and previous Quirino administrations—has reached a crisis point.

A corrupt government with venal officials, complete lack of planning in and popular control over government, and the costly war against the Hukbalahap movement (which demands complete freedom from foreign control) have all been ruinous.

Unbridled conversion of the peso to dollars to cover profits and interest remittances has brought the Philippine dollar reserves down to $234,000,000 from $400,000,000 in 1946. Flight of dollars during the first week of December amounted to about $2,000,000 daily.

The $1,000,000,000 the U.S. paid the Philippines during the last three years in the form of compensation for war damages, military expenditures etc., have been squandered in buying luxury items such as automobiles, instead of capital goods to build a diversified modern economy for the benefit of the people. Only 15% of total imports in 1949 consisted of capital goods. The budget has been getting more and more out of balance, with an estimated deficit of $75,000,000 for the fiscal year 1949-50.

BRING ON THE BRIBES: Faced with this situation, and with an International Monetary Fund Mission now investigating Philippine finances in connection with a request for an $80,000,000 loan from the World Bank, Quirino has ordered a "drastic" exchange control and curb on imports of luxury items. It is doubtful if this will have any more effect than the control order previously in force, except to increase illegal transactions and the quota of bribes to corrupt officials.

This is the Philippine government that Washington supports and offers to the world as an example of the democratic legacy of U.S. rule. As in India, so in the Philippines: the behavior of the respective governments exposes the fallacy of the idea that a genuinely democratic government can be gradually built up under benevolent imperialist tutelage.

The struggle for real freedom continues. The recent violent outbreak in Batabgas, though precipitated by followers of the Nationalista Party, is symptomatic. The prestige of the Hukbalahap is increasing.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Those anti-histamine pills are no cure-all for colds

THE newest so-called "miracle drug"—the little anti-histamine pill claimed to stop colds before they start—is being plugged in one of the biggest advertising campaigns ever known.

Most independent investigators feel that these new pills may have some value, but consider that extravagant claims must be viewed with caution.

HIT THE SYMPTOMS: It has not been adequately proved that the anti-histamine drugs actually cure a virus cold. Taken early enough, they do stop cold **symptoms**: running nose, sneezes, etc. These symptoms may be caused by allergies other than a true cold.

Certainly if the new drugs can at least stop these symptoms, they're of some help. There is quick relief for the sufferer and less risk a cold will be passed on if sneezes are eliminated. The danger, however, is that because of the "cure-all" type of advertising and the lavish plugs, people will neglect the known techniques for combating virus infection, such as building up resistance by proper rest and diet. Already complaints are appearing that in some cases anti-histamines seem only to "delay" a cold.

WATCH THE EFFECTS: The anti-histamines do not appear to help everybody, even to the extent of relieving sneezes. Some 20% of the test patients in experiments so far indicated they were not helped.

One important caution is in order: some people get definite toxic reactions from various types of anti-histamine drugs now on the market (not all of the pills on the market are concocted from the same anti-histamine drugs). Often these take the form of drowsiness or dizziness, sometimes nausea. It's risky to take anti-histamines before you drive a car, for example, or work with machinery. Investigators also report that some types are over-stimulating, and therefore not advisable for people with high blood pressure.

Physicians have noticed such reactions particularly in the case of larger dosages. The various anti-histamine pills now on sale without prescription usually contain from ten to 25 milligrams of the drug in each pill. Larger dosages should be taken only under a doctor's guidance.

The true value of the anti-histamines will not be fully established for some time. Meanwhile, take them only with reservations and caution.

Shopping question

Ernest Schechter, a N. Y. dealer in raw furs, writes as follows:

"I must criticize your item on cut-price fur sales. The cost of it is this: The fur business is now suffering because of the new Internal Revenue ruling prohibiting sale of tax-exempt fur garments after March 1, and unseasonably warm weather. So you say, let's wait two or three months with our buying and create distress in this industry.

"Your advice can be applied to any industry. Let women wait two or three months in purchasing their spring suits and they'll buy them for much less—and bring disaster to the coat and suit industry and its workers. Let them wait to buy summer footwear and they'll buy for less—and bring suffering to workers in the shoe industry.

"Your article is primarily hurtful in its appeal to the woman who has capacity to buy today, but to whose bargain instinct such propaganda appeals. What will this woman accomplish in saving $25 to $50 by waiting until February or March to buy? She will not have the use of her coat for most of the winter, and will have a 1949 style next season."

THE ANSWER: Mr. Schechter makes an important point. Under present conditions, if consumers hold off buying because of high prices, the workers in an industry suffer. But for people with little money, waiting for late-season sales is necessary; otherwise many will not be able to buy at all. And a woman who does save $25 or $50 on a coat will then be able to buy shoes and other items or another coat sooner than otherwise and thus help production workers.

—Sidney Margolius

The Communist Trial

A stinging whodunit of Foley Square

By John T. McManus

GEORGE MARION is a brilliant New York reporter with guts to match.

He has covered every kind of news, from police court to the United Nations. He knows a frame-up when he sees one, and a courtroom fix, and has watched stoolpigeons perform from the old days on the N. Y. vice squad's famous Chile Acuna to the FBI's present-day array of Budenzes, Hewitts, Nicodemuses, Elizabeth Bentleys, et al.

Marion's **The Communist Trial: An American Crossroads** is not a political tract. It is journalistic coverage, lowdown and whodunit written with the zest and sting of a Dashiell Hammett underworld yarn. (Hammett, incidentally, contributes an introduction.) It has the guts to challenge the slants and biases of press coverage of the trial and to hit at the Medina myth as well.

THE SORDID TOUCH: It opens, for example, with a man and a red-headed woman who was not his wife registering at a Pittsburgh hotel. They are picked up by detectives, two guns are found. The FBI moves in. The man and woman are convicted on guilty pleas, then allowed to withdraw their pleas and have an acquittal substituted.

The FBI, with help from the Pittsburgh cops, have netted stoolpigeon No. 1 in trumping up their case against the Foley Square defendants.

"What scabrous souls the informers' trade produces!" Marion comments. Charles Nicodemus, the Pittsburgh pickup, is only one of many. William Cummings, planted by the FBI, recruited an in-law and two cousins into Communist membership, then turned them over to the FBI. John Victor Leblanc was planted in the labor movement in Detroit to win the confidence of workers and then recruit them into the Communist membership as a result of his apparent work on grievances. He recruited some real people, some imaginary, but in all cases collected his bounty from and turned over the records to the FBI.

WHO CAN KEEP SILENT? A baker's dozen of these were paraded before the Foley Square jurors, protected by Medina like a mother hen from defense attempts to show them up.

The stories of this "reptile tribe" you did not read in the daily papers reports of the trial. You can read them all in Marion's book, along with the role played by Medina in the farce of establishing their testimony as truth and admissible evidence.

Marion's book makes swift, exciting, irrefutable reading. At the conclusion he boils it down to this:

"A discussion, published in newspapers and magazines, took place within the Communist Party of the United States; a meeting was held at Madison Square Garden. That is all the force and violence the government ever proved at Foley Square.

"The Nazis at least felt it necessary to have a burning building as a pretext for suspending the constitution. Our cold war mongers manufactured an occasion out of thin air . . .

"Silence in the face of this decicion would be an invitation to fascism."

ANOTHER 'MUST': Additional "must" reading for accurate knowledge of Foley Square is the pamphlet **Due Process in a Political Trial**, published by the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Leaders, headed by Judge Norval K. Harris of Indiana.

Printed side by side are the decisions and rulings of Judge Medina, first with respect to the prosecution, then the defense, concerning the admission of testimony, the badgering of defense witnesses as against kid-glove handling of the prosecution's.

Also, the pamphlet makes clear the absurdity of the contempt charges against the defense attorneys.

THE COMMUNIST TRIAL: AN AMERICAN CROSSROADS. Fairplay Publishers, 25 W. 44th St., Suite 414, New York 18, N.Y. Cloth, $3; popular, $1.25.

DUE PROCESS IN A POLITICAL TRIAL. National Non-Partisan Committee, 23 W. 26th St., New York 10, N.Y. 25c.

The Quaker Report

Last summer the American Friends Service Committee published a report calmly tracing the origins of the cold war and proposing a concrete program to end it. The result of an intensive three-month study by a special "working party," this report by the Quakers (summarized in the GUARDIAN, July 25) is the most significant contribution to peace from an independent, non-political source since the cold war began. It has now been published complete in book form under the title **The United States and the Soviet Union: Some Quaker Proposals for Peace** (Yale University Press, $1). Progressives should see that it gets the widest possible distribution.

WEEKLY CALENDAR

New York

SYMPOSIUM ON STALIN, The Man and His Works, auspices National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Tues., Dec. 20, 8:15 p.m., Steinway Hall, 113 W. 57th St. Speakers: Dr. Harry F. Ward, Dr. Howard Selsam, William Mandell. Chairman: Dr. W. Alphaeus Hunton. Subscription 75c.

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN ART Exhibit and Reception, sponsored by ALP, at new cultural center, 129 Montague Street, Brooklyn. Meet Philip Evergood, Raphael Soyer, Harry Gottlieb and others. Sale: Dec. 17 and 18.

SIX FILMS, presented by World Documentary Theatre, Dec. 27, 28, 29, Barbizon Plaza, 101 W. 58th St. Two performances: 7:45 and 9:45 p.m. Tickets: $1.50 incl. tax. Students 75c. Call JU 6-3335.

•

New Jersey

CHRISTMAS PARTY, sponsored by Young Progressives of America, Dec. 23, 8:30 p.m., Blue Mirror Room, Masonic Temple, 188 Belmont Av., Newark. Dramatic presentation by YPA Players and Chorus, gifts, refreshments, dancing. Donation: 50c.

•

Chicago

CHRISTMAS PARTY, proceeds for gifts to Ingram family, Sat., Dec. 17, 8:30 p.m., the Elam home, 4728 S. Parkway, sponsored by Status of Women Commission, Congress of American Women. Donation: $1—or new item of clothing for ages between 2 and 22. Contact: Congress of American Women, 179 W. Washington St., Room 906.

A Gift That's Nifty for the Whole of '50

Enter the following gift subscriptions to NATIONAL GUARDIAN at the special rate of $1 for a full year.

PRINT NAMES street city & zone state

....

....

....

....

....

☐ Bill me Sender's name ....

$........ enclosed Address ....

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray Street, New York 7

What New York's China thinks about China's China

SIGN PAINTER: A work of art is Chinese lettering and this Chinese sign painter, Wesley Chan, is also the creator of the portrait in the background. He has designed some of the most dramatic signs that flash their lights on Chinatown.

MULBERRY STREET CHILDREN: Chinese and Italian children play happily together on Mulberry Street, where the Chinese and Italian communities meet unaware of cold wars and international crises. But the parents of these first-graders ask when the city will get around to replacing their ancient, dilapidated, overcrowded schoolhouse.

By Esther Handler

GUARDIAN reporter-photographer

WHEN asked what he thinks about the situation in China, the man on the street in New York's Chinatown is likely to tell you he's not interested in politics or is strictly neutral. What he really thinks might thus be veiled, but he's taking no chances.

This is understandable since most Chinese-Americans have no legal status in this country and the FBI has announced that it is rounding up for deportation Chinese non-citizens found to be "espousing communism." A favorable word for the New China might come under that heading.

Yet the picturesque Chinese community with its cross-section of merchants, workers and intellectuals is anything but a neutral zone. Despite the shadow of immigration authorities, people are taking sides.

DON'T DISTURB: This fact hit the public in a burst of fireworks on Oct. 10 when the Chinese community celebrated its "Fourth of July." For the first time the flag of the new People's Republic flew from windows in Chinatown. Angered, Nationalist Consul-General Dr. P. H. Chang called upon Mayor O'Dwyer to force removal of these flags. He said they would "arouse the anger of patriotic elements . . . and become a serious cause for local disturbances . . ."

In a countercharge, the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance, an organization of 2,500 which had displayed one of the flags, told the mayor. "No-one in the Chinese community was aroused to anger except Dr. Chang." They called him "a defunct official of a defunct government . . ."

SUCCESS IS THE THING: The new Chinese five-star flag—made the day before from a newspaper picture — flew unmolested throughout Chinese Independence Day. No violence was reported.

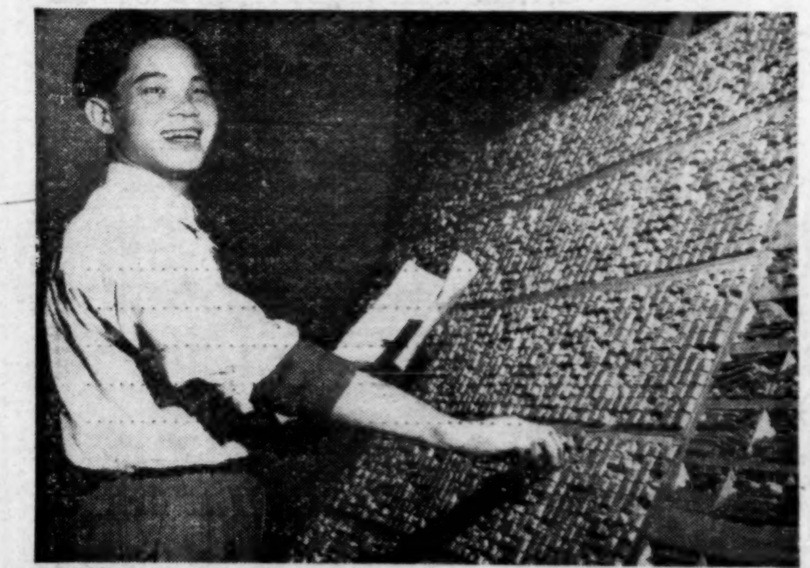
The laundrymen's enthusiasm for the new government is not shared by New York's more affluent restaurant owners, according to Raymond Tong, secretary of the Chinese-American Restaurant Assn. He said the members have no confidence in the Communists. He indicated, however, that should the new government succeed, they might change their attitude.

One prominent businessman, who didn't want to be quoted, voiced vehement opposition to the Communists but spoke with equal bitterness about Chiang Kai-shek: "He let us down when he didn't defend Canton," he said. "Instead, his soldiers looted the city and fled, blowing up its largest bridge at a time when many people were on it." Like many New York Chinese, he had come from Canton and still has relatives there.

RECOGNIZE THE FACTS: While many Chinese-Americans expressed the hope that the U. S. would soon recognize the new Chinese state, few were optimistic about it. Editor Chu Tong of the **China Daily News**, which urges recognition, pointed out that it took the U. S. 13 months to recognize the first Chinese Republic established in 1911. He felt it would take much longer now, with Truman's policy of cold war in the Pacific.

He says: "With the new Chinese government's main objective to repair the broken down economy and build industry, the American people have much to gain from trade with China. This could put many unemployed back to work."

The opinion this reporter found typical was that expressed by an editor of the **China Tribune**, a newspaper which originally favored the Kuomintang but gradually switched its support to the Communists. "We are non-communist," he said, "but we are against Chiang's corruption and for a genuine democratic coalition government. We think this can be achieved under the new government."



JOY GARDEN
LUNCH 45

CHINESE TYPESETTER: (above) This young Chinese typesetter has to know where to find some 3,000 pieces of type commonly used in a Chinese newspapers. The type is all set by hand. Four Chinese-language papers are published in New York.

STREET SCENE: (right) The man on the street in New York's Chinatown keeps his politics to himself but you can be sure he is interested in what is happening in China. He's a target of heavy propaganda barrage from Kuomintang agents now swarming into the United States.

RAY C THOMAS 1-50
1758 S 13TH
SALEM ORE